

COINS

Sultans of Kashmir

(1339-1586)

With an introduction by

Professor Fida Hassnain.

Iqbal Ahmad

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(1339-1586)

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PREFACE

There are plenty of literary records and books available on the history of Sultans of Kashmir. Few papers on their coins had also been well attempted by some early European and Indian numismatists. As such there is no any dirth of literature of Sultanate period of Kashmir history. However, there is the lack of descriptive book on Sultanate coins of the land.

In my this book I have attempted to bring out a comprehensive description of coins of Sultans. There is a mention of various coin types in gold, silver and copper of the Sultans of the land. The book captioned Sultanate coins gives you full description of the coin series of Sultanate period (1339-1586 AD) while discussing the Sultanate coins, the history of the Sultans even at the risk of repeating already known facts is called for to understand their coins in their proper historical and chronological perspective.

The main emphasis of the book is on coins. It deals with a newly discovered hoard of about 1440 coins at the outskirts of Srinagar at Barthana. The hoard was discovered by a group of locals in a local mazar where they were indulged in digging out a grave.

The coins as per local information were collected in an earthen pitcher. Later the hoard was collected by the police station Qamarwari and then handed over to state Archaeology Department.

The book while repeating the history of the Sultans makes detail mention of various coin types, metals, denominations, values and weights adopted by the Sultans of Kashmir for minting of their money. The paper gives a detailed classification and description of the Barthana hoard.

INTRODUCTION

Coins have been found in Kashmir belonging to the First Century BC which clearly shows that from earliest times, Kashmir had its own currency. Srinagar is said to have been founded by Asoka and from that time, it became the principal town of Kashmir, but it is Prawarashna II who founded modern Srinagar. It is said that Saraf Mohalla in modern Srinagar served as the principal mint for the country. The earliest standard coin, found is that of Kanishka (125 AD). The type of the latter coins seems to have followed the model introduced by him. The metal used by them was copper.

It was in the reign of the Sultans that besides copper other metals such as lead, brass, silver and gold were used for coinage. Among them, the oldest coin is that of Shah Mir (1339-1342 AD) who assumed reigns of administration when King Udyanadeva (1323-1338) fled from the country rather than facing the invaders. This coin is square in shape and possess the legend Al Sultan Al Azan Shamesh Shah 'the great Sultan Shamesh Shah - Kashmir Mint'. In the reign of Sultan Zain-abi-Din, who is commonly known as *Bad Shah*, the great king, a separate currency from that prevalent in India, was introduced in Kashmir in 1428 AD. Each *dang* is equal to 6 *ratis* and each Kashmiri rupee had 12 *Dang* as silver bullion. It is note worthy that the Sharmiri Kings used the title of Sultan, while the Chaks used title of Bad Shah possibly to show their independence position as compared to the Mughals.

In the reigns of the Mughals and especially emperor Akbar, each rupee had 9 *mashas* of silver in it. These coins which were struck in 1597 AD are peculiar from rest of the Indian coins, in having Arabic dates. Jahangir introduced a special Kashmiri rupee which had 11 *Dang* in it. After him Muhammad Shah introduced Kashmiri coins worth 14 1/2

Dang. Some finest as well artistic Mughal coins are that of Emperor Jahangir.

In the reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1752-1772) Sukh Jewan introduced Durrani currency, with the legend:

'Ye Conqueror with God's commands Ahmed Shah Durrani'.

It continued upto 22 years, when Syed Abdullah Shah Alkozai, introduced a new currency in the name of Zaman Shah Durrani and Mehmood Shah, which had only 4 *mashas* of silver in it. The Sultan after conducting an enquiry into the matter censored his Governor who was ordered to introduce new currency, which had bullion value of 11 1/2 *masha* in it. It was Atta Muhammad Khan, the Afghan Governor (1808-1810 AD) who introduced a currency in the name of Shah Shujah of Kabul. But after his rebellion against the Kabul Rulers, he got struck coins in the names of saints and priests. This unique practice does not prove that he did it for their respect, but he used it for his own political needs, in order to guarantee moral as well as material support of the people. These coins bear the names of *'Nur-ud-Din & Makhdoom Jehan*, who are widely respected and honoured in the valley. These coins weighed 224 grains and are beautifully engraved.

During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, (1819-1839 AD) the Governor of Kashmir, Dewan Moti Ram introduced a new coin having, in the beginning 10 and latter 9 *Dang*. It was struck in the name of Baba Guru Nanak Ji, the founder of Sikhism and Guru Gobind Singh, one of the prominent leaders of the Sikhs. Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa introduced the renowned Hari Singhi rupee. It has 12 *Dang* in it. It bore the following legend. *'Sri Akali Jeo, Hari Singh Long Live.'*

Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, the last Governor of the Sikh Government introduced a coin which had a lesser bullion value amounting to 8 *Dang* only. During the Sikh regime, 3 coins were in vogue in Kashmir, the *Mughal*, the *Nanakshai*,

the Hari Singhi and the Ramji coin. Maharaja Rangit Singh introduced the *Nanakshahi* rupee which bore the following legend.

'Guru Gobind Singh got from Nanak plenty, sword, conquest, victory and help'

The British made over Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1846 AD. He continued the same coin but simply changed the legend on it.

Henry Montgomery and Col. Lawrence wanted to introduce a rupee equivalent to 16 annas but in view of the ancient practice, a rupee equal to 12 annas was issued by the Maharaja. This practice was endorsed by them when they visited Srinagar Mint in 1849 AD. This coin was called *Srinagari* coin. It bore Persian and English words one side and Persian legend on the other side like this:

'With the grace of Shri Shiv Naath Ji, Shri Ramji, J H S Sringar Mint.'

In 1870 AD another Srinagri coin was introduced which had the following inscription on both sides:-

'Srinagar Mint. 1926. S. With the grace of Shri Ghadadhar Ji.'

In Jammu a separate currency existed from the days of Raja Ranjit Dev, who owed allegiance to the Mughal Kings. The Jammu coin has the following legend in Persian on one side:

'Goddess Lakshmi, make our hearts joyful. May the house of Ranjit Deve prosper.'

On the other side it had the following words in Shastri:

'Struck at the Jammu Mint Rughnath Ji Shay.'

During the reign of the Maharaja Gulab Singh (1848-1857 AD)

and early period of the Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the Srinagari rupee amounted to 10 annas of the Indian coin.

By 1881 AD the Government of India wanted to introduce Hindustani coins of lower denomination in the Indian state. In 1889 AD powers of the Maharaja Pratap Singh were withdrawn by the Government of India and the Kashmir Residency took control of the administration. The state Mint continued upto 1897 AD when it was closed and the Hindustani currency was introduced in this part of India also.

The first article on the ancient coins of Kashmir by Alexander

Cunningham was published in 1843 AD. C J Rodgers published his three research papers on the copper coins of the Sultanate period in 1885. However, it was G B Belezby, who in 1900 prepared the first list of about 1500 coins preserved in the S P S Museum Srinagar. Subsequently in 1923 Ram Chandra Kak in his Handbook of the Shri Pratap Museum gave a detailed account of the numismatic section of the Government Museum.

All the above research papers are in attempt to describe the Kashmiri coinage. It is for the first time, Iqbal Ahmad, Numismatist, who is qualified to undertake such scientific studies, has embarked upon describing various types metals and denominations of the Kashmiri coins belonging to the ancient, medieval and modern periods.

The present work deals with the Sultanate period (1339-1586), starting from Sultan Shamas-ud-Din to Sultan Yaqoob Shah Chak, the last independent ruler of Kashmir. This work is important because in it Iqbal Ahmad gives a detailed account of the Barthana hoard of coins which were minted in Kashmir by the Kashmiri Sultans.

I hope that the learned author will take up detailed study of the coins of various periods of our history from ancient times

to the present age. I would advise him to describe chronograms as well as legends on obverse and reverse sides of each coin. He made a good beginning and he is sure to succeed in his future researches. I wish him good luck.

Dated: Professor. Fida Hassnian.

POLITICAL HISTORY

Sulateen period acquires an ascendancy in the annals of Kashmir history. It is marked by a big social and political change that was the spread of Islam and foundation of Sulateen type of government. The new faith of Islam was not only planted on this soil but cultivated with hard labour which resulted in peaceful conversion of non-muslims to the tents of Islam. The Central Asian muslim missionaries, and local Rishis, took an active role in this mass transformation. The promotion of Islamic faith influenced the political and social scenario of the country.

The classical un-Islamic traditions and customs got replaced by new muslims order. The Islamic arts, culture, literature and philosophy got promoted. Sanskrit and Sharda literature provided space for Persian and Arabic while as Rajas, Maharajas came to be known as Sulateen and Emperors. The Sultant was born which adopted Muslims order for its governance.

Striking of coins in Sultan's name was made more essential. As per the muslim, traditions reading of *Khutbah* and striking coins in the name of Emperor was necessary for his royal authority. When Sultan acceded the throne his name was read in the *Friday Khutbah's*, and coins were also minted in his name. Sometimes Sultan's authority was also recognised by the Khalifa of the time. Those sultans used to made that authority public by putting it on obverse or reverse of their coins.

Sulateen ruled the land for about 247 years. It included two dynasties, Shahmeri and Chaks. Shahmeri's house introduced 30 rulers. Most of the Sultans of the house, ruled twice and sometimes few Sultans for three, four and even for five turns. Shahmeri has a major period of

rule of about 222 years. Chaks could hold the throne only for 25 years and were represented by five rulers. The history of Sultateens emerged from the eventful rule of Suhadeva (1301-1320 AD). He is said to have admitted to his services a muslim migrant called Shahmer¹. He proved a brave soldier for the king and helped the royal forces in extending his authority over whole of Kashmir. Shahmer is said to be of Turk descent². The other man who got shelter in the court of Suhadeva was Richana a Tibetan prince.

The two men proved instrumental in changing the political and social scenario of the land. Their presence and promotion in Kashmir ultimately resulted in providing basis for a Muslim Sultanate and thereby bringing an end to the seven hundred years old Hindu rule of the land. Suhadeva who ruled for nineteen years provided way to prince Richana to seize the throne in 1320 AD. He married the queen of Suhadeva named Kota Devi. He also retained Shahmer in his office. Richana got impressed by the teachings of Islam which had just entered the valley. He embraced Islam on the hands of Syed Bulbul Shah (RA) a leading saint and first Islamic missionary to Kashmir. After entering into new faith, he was renamed Sultan Shadur-ud-Din. Although he attempted to lay the foundation of a permanent Sultanate but he could not succeed fully and left the incomplete job for Shahmer to do the rest work. Shadur-ud-din in 1323 AD was succeeded by Udayana Deva and Kota Devi who continued in the office till 1339 AD and then provided place to Shahmer to lay the permanent foundation of the Shahmeri Sultanate.

HOUSE OF SHAHMEIR SULTANS

01.	Shamas-ud-Din	1339-1342 AD
02.	Jamsheed	1342-1343 AD
03.	Alua-ud-Din	1343-1354 AD
04.	Shahab-ud-Din	1354-1373 AD
05.	Qutub-ud-Din	1373-1389 AD
06.	Sikender Shah	1389-1413 AD
07.	Ali Shah	1413-1430 AD
08.	Zain-ul-Abideen	1430-1470 AD
09.	Haider Shah	1470-1472 AD
10.	Hassan Shah	1472-1484 AD
11.	Muhammad Shah I	1484-1486 AD
12.	Fateh Shah I	1486-1493 AD
13.	Muhammad Shah II	1493-1514 AD
14.	Fateh Shah II	1514 AD
15.	Muhammad Shah III	1515 AD
16.	Fateh Shah III	1515-1517 AD
17.	Muhammad Shah IV	1517-1528 AD
18.	Ibrahim Shah	1528-1529 AD
19.	Nazuk Shah	1529-1530 AD
20.	Muhammad Shah V	1530-1538 AD
21.	Shamas-ud-Din	1539 AD
22.	Ismail Shah	1540 AD
23.	Nazuk Shah II	1540-1552 AD
24.	Ismail Shah II	1553-1557 AD
25.	Habib Shah	1557-1561 AD

SHAMAS-UD-DIN 1339-1342 AD

When Kota Rani ascended the throne in 1338-39 AD. She feared the Shahmir's popularity and appointed Bhatta Bhiskashana as his prime minister with an intention that he could suppress the growing popularity

of Shahmir. Shahmir, was famous in Srinagar, Kota Rani shifted his seat to Inderkota.

Shahmir got annoyed by Kota Rani on appointment of Bhatta Bhikshana on his place as her minister. He went against her, and murdered his minister in cold blood. This angered the queen and in order to avenge him she ordered her forces to besiege Shahmir's house. Shahmir who was popular in forces too manoeuvred so his forces that the tables were turned against queen Kota herself and she was in turn besieged in her own palace at Inderkota. Shahmir who had till then gained the support of nobility declared him-self as the Sultan of Kashmir. He adopted the title of Sultan Shamas-ud-Din.

Sultan Shamas-u-Din ascended the Kashmir throne in 1339 AD. He attended the problems faced by his subjects and imposed 1/5 share of the total produce on Zamindars for royal tax. He desired to marry the disposed queen Kota Rani who was staying in the fort of Inderkote Sultan sent his marriage proposal to Kota Rani. She turned down the proposal, and when the Sultan, married her forcibly she committed suicide thus ended her life.

Sultan is credited to had invented a new era called Kashmir era and discounted Loukuk era from his official use. The invented era was counted from the coronation of Rachin in 720 AD. This era became so popular that it was used through out Sulateen period. It got discouraged soon after the taking over of Kashmir by Mughals emperors of Hindustan in 1586 AD. Hassan Shah says that in rural area of the valley it is still in vogue³.

The invented era have been used in other official works of the Sulateen but their entire coinages are dated in Hijra era. Whether Sultan Shamas-ud-Din used it for his coins is not known as the coins of the Sultan are not

found. It has made numismatists to believe that the Sultan had not coined his money but continued with the available coins of Hindu Rajas. Sultan ruled for more than three years. His tomb is at Sumbal where he is remembered by the name of Sultan Badshah. As per the evidences of Frista Sultan Shamas-ud-Din had four children, Jamshed, Alau-ud-din, Shahub-ud-Din and Qutub-ud-Din.

Jamsheed 1342-1343 AD

Jamseed succeeded his father in 1342 AD. He could rule only in for fourteen months when he was defeated by his brother Ala-ud-Din who lead rebels in Zainpora area of the South Kashmir. Jamsheed who got involved him self in suppressing the rebellions of Zainpura appointed Siraj-ud-Din his minister as care taker of the throne at Srinagar. Siraj-ud-Din invited Alau-ud-din and handed over the seat to him and disposed off his master.

Alau-ud-Din 1343-1354 AD

The founder of Alau-ud-din Pura at Srinagar ascended the throne in 1343 AD. He appointed his younger brother Shahab-ud-Din as his minister. The kingdom in his lost years of rule had a famine due to which many tribes are said to had migrated from Kashmir and settled in Kashtiwari. Waqati Kashmir reports that Syed Jalal-ud-Din had a visit of the valley during the time of this Sultan. The Sultan who ruled for more than 10 years is buried at Malik Aangan Fateh Kadal⁴. He was succeeded by his brother.

Shahab-ud-Din 1354-1373 AD

A legend says that once the prince Shahab-ud-Din went

in search of the pray and reached at a mountain pass. He was accompanied by his three servants namely Rai Sheer Dil, Jandal and Akhtaji. He wanted some water to drink and was provided with a cup of milk by Lalla Arifa (Lallal Ded) a Kashmiri saint, prince could drink only some milk, the remaining was shared by his two servants, the other servant could not get any drop. Arifa gave prince good news of his becoming a great king with his two servants as his commander-in-chiefs while as Akhtaji who could not take a single drop of it shall have a little life. When the team returned to city the same thing happened. Akhtaji died in younger age, while the prince was crowned as the king of Kashmir with his two servants Sheer Dil and Janda as his commander-in-chiefs.

Shahab-ud-Din is counted among the accelerated rulers of Kashmir. He is said to had created Pargana system in his kingdom. He initiated several victorious campaigns and expanded the boundaries of his empire from north to Tibet, Sakardu and to south upto Jammu and Kishtiwar. After providing a stable administration to his vast empire he is said to had taken several expedition to other kingdoms and temporarily occupied their lands too.

The list of his victories included Peshawar, Kabul, Badakshan, Qandhar, Heerat, Sind and Multan. He laid his camp on the banks of river Sutluj which worried the Feroz Shah the Delhi Sultan. The later with his forces progressed towards the caravan of Kashmiri Sultan and there was a furious fight between Delhi and Kashmir forces. At last due to timely intervention of Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (RA) a peace packet was signed and upto Sirhind (Punjab) the control was given into the hands of Kashmiri Sultan. Feroz Shah had three daughters which he gave in marriage to nearest relatives of the Shahab-

ud-Din Waqi Kashmir records the first arrival of Jenab Sayyid during the period of Shahab-ud-Din who made a truce between the Delhi and Kashmiri Sultan, Hassan writes of his a period of amusement during which the Sultan made numerous victorious expeditions. However, he did not hold these areas but instead returned back to Kashmir and diverted his attention towards the developmenal work of his kingdom. He founded Shahab-ud-Din Pure (the present-day Shampure) and established their his throne. He ruled for more than 18 years and declared his brother Hindal his heir in 1373 AD. Sultan's grave was at Mullah Baldevmar on the river bank at a distance of 30 yards to the north of Sultan Budshah's tomb. Partap Singh during his period then super imposed his own building over the grave. Despite ruling the kingdom for such a long period his coins too are not known which has surprised the numismatists.

QUTUB DIN 1373-1389 AD

Hindal under the title of Sultan Qutub Din appeared on Kashmir throne in 1373 AD. He founded Qutub-Dinpora and raised several glorious edifices at the site besides laid several gardens. During his reign Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani (RA) made his second journey of the Valley⁵. He was accompanied by about 700 relatives and other companions. He stayed at Alludinpora. Where he used to offer five time prayers on a stone terrace built on the river bank.

Sultan at times used to attend the saint and took spiritual and Shairat (law) guidance form the Saint. Sultan who had married two real sisters, divorced one of them after receiving the Shairat command form the Sayed. The Sayed bestowed him with his holy cap (head-gear). The

Sultan received it with great honour and used to wear it under his crown. Sultan Qutub-ud-Din ruled the Sultanate for about 16 years. His grave lies near the Ziyarat of Pir Haji Muhammad at Mullah Langerhata in Srinagar. Sultan had two sons, Mirza Shikara and Mirza Haibat, the former ascended the throne in 1389 under the title of Sultan Sikender.

SIKENDAR SHAH 1389-1413 AD

Sultan Sikender's period is famous for the event of mass conversion of non-Muslims into the tents of Islam. The process was partly peaceful and partly forcible, the new faith was not only planted but cultivated with dedication. The missionaries comprising of Syeds and local saints called Rishis took an active role in promotion of conversion. Sultan is sometimes titled as Butshiken and held responsible for mass destruction of the Hindu and Buddhist worship places. However, to attributed all such catastrophes with this Sultan is injustice with him. The Sultan is believed by some to had been tolerant towards all subjects. The newly archaeological researches revealed that the king had laid an icon of Brahma a Hindu deity in a temple at Ganpathyar where the name of the king was deciphered engraved in an inscription in Sharda letters⁶. The other Hindu and Muslim Sultans had done no less damage to these worship places.

Kalhana is very fear when he writes that even as some Hindu kings were founding temples and casting impressive bronze and brass images other of the same belief were involved in destroying them. Mention may be made of Harsha whom Kalhana wrongly gives the epithet Turshka not the idol broker. the Raja who ruled

Kashmir in 11th century about 300 years before Sultan Sikender had looted temples and destroyed their housed icons. Kalhana writes that not a single temple was left in village, town or city that was not dispoited of its image by the Turuska king Harsha. Sultan Sikender is also blamed by historians to have damaged non-Muslim shrines and their housed icons.

During the period of the Sultan, Syed Mir Muhammad Hamadani⁷ with his three hundred companions reached Kashmir and lived here for about twenty two years. The Syed was made to stay in a splended palace specially built for him at Nawhatta, Srinagar. Sultan on the commands of the Syed built several Khanqahs, one large Khanqah, known by Khanqah Mulla was built at Srinagar and others at Wachi, Tral, Bijbehara and Mattan towns respectively. It was during this period that Amir Timur Gurgani happened to cross over the northern border of the empire, Sultan was told to reach on the bank of Sindh to met him when Sultan reached Baramulla (North Kashmir) he learnt that the emperor had crossed over the Sindh towards Samarqand. Sikender sent his son Shahi Khan with numerous gifts to Timurs court at Samarqand.

Sikendar has been a well learned man and he patronized literary men several reputed scholars form Kharasan Transoxiana and Mesopotamia were attracted to his court.

Sultan ruled for more than 25 years and in his lost age felt pray to typhoid. He is buried in the enclosure outside the mausoleum of his wife in Mazari-Sulateen at Srinagar.

ALI SHAH 1413-1430 AD

Sikender was succeeded by his elder son Noor Khan under the title of Ali Shah in 1413 AD. Ali Shah appointed Shahi Khan as his minister - He has not been so serious in state affairs and did not make any significant change in the policies adopted by his father. Shortly he desired to perform the Haj so he left the country into care of his brother Shahi Khan but when he reached Jammu the chief of Jammu who was also his father-in-law advised him not to live for Mecca, he told him that it would cost him his throne. Ali Shah who was weak in his decision changed his mind and returned back to valley with the military help of his father-in-law to regain the throne. However, he could not regain it. Shahi Khan was victorious and ascended the throne in 1430 AD

-ZAIN-UL-ABIDINE 1430-1470 AD

Shahi Khan the son of Sikender who was deputed to Temiurs' court remained there for about seven years. This expedition proved fruitful for Shah Khan, and also opened a new era of glory and prosperity for the people of the land when he took over the reins of governance - The non-Muslims who had felt uneasy during his father's rule felt relaxed. They were given entire religious freedom and advised to neither to speak lie nor act against their own religious teachings. Several tribes of non-Muslims who had migrated were brought back with honour and provided assistance in their re-settlement. He treated all his subjects alike, Pandit Anand Koul writes of him 'Sultan possessed a broad and tolerant outlook and dominated with a desire to benefit mankind. He ruled with such equity and justice and did so much to improve the material prosperity of the people that one can not

fail to admire him.'

Zain-ul-Abiden, gave maximum powers to his younger brother Muhammad Khan to deal the country affair while himself got indulged in public hearings. Halmet Raina and Chander Raina who were from Chander tribe were appointed commander in chiefs. It is said that after the discovery of a copper mine, he could made his all expenses from that mine and ordered that his all coins should also be minted from his copper mine. He issued his coins in several types and made his money very much common.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden's administrative reforms, military expeditions, public works, promotion of arts, patronage to learnedmen and their encouragement and religions tolerance made him surnamed as Badshah. his authority was also organized by the Khalifa of the time. Sultan formed a code of law for the benefit of his subjects, he engraved it on copper plates and placed them on public places.

He, however, did not liked bloodshed and never put to death any pretty criminal. He is said to had given 400 camel - loads for the purpose of the soul of a man whom he had executed because of his guilty of killing his brother. He respected woman as woman and never gazed at unknown woman with ill intentions. Sultans promotion of arts and crafts has been outstanding. He introduced several central Asian art here and cultivated them with dedication and good faith, Mirza Haider Daughlat writes in his Trikh-e-Rashidi 'in Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which were in most cities uncommon, such as stone polishing, stone cutting, bottle making window-cutting, gold beating etc. in the whole Maver-ul-Nahr (the country beyond the river Oxus

i.e. Khorasan) except in Samarqand and Bukhara, there are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Zain-ul-Abiden'.

He invited teachers, crafts man and well learned men from central Asian states and provide them Jagirs in Kashmir. His public works are marked by numerous towns, villages, irrigation canals and bridges. This gave him the name of great builder. He is said to had built a royal palace at Nowshehra, Srinagar, called *Rajdani*. it was a massive structure formed of wooden logs, it was twelve storey building with fifty rooms per storey and had a capacity to provide shelter to five hundred inmates in a single room. Mirza Haider mentions in his Tarikh-e-Rashidi it as an unique palace in the east, the palace was destroyed in Chak period.

Zain-ul-Abiden in his concluding days himself watched the signs of decay of all that what he had built-up with great hard work and dedications. His sons, Adam Khan, Haji Khan and Bahram Khan indulged in warfare which gradually resulted in weakening of the kingdom.

Zain-ul-Abiden died in 1470 AD. His death was lamented long. It is said that at the Sultans death entire Kashmir become the house of mourning and no one lighted stove for several days. Sultan is buried in enclosure near his father in Mazari Sulateen at Zain Kadal.

HAIDER SHAH 1470-1472 AD

Zain-ul-Abiden was succeeded by his son Haji Khan under the title of Sultan Haider Shah in 1470 AD. He was crowned in the royal palace of Sikendarpura. He appointed his brother Bahram Khan as his minister and granted the Jagir of Pargana Nagam to him. While the Jagir of Allaqui Kamraz (Northern Kashmir) was granted

to his son Hassan Khan. Haider is said was a ill charactered man and got indulged in drinking. He had no regard for his father's polices. He went against those while committing excess upon his subjects. It is said that he acted on the advice's of one Luli Hajam whom Sultan had given special chair in the Darbar.

Haider Shah ruled for a year and died in an a accident, he was also buried near his fathers Mazar at Zaina Kadal, Srinagar. Although Haider ruled for a very pretty time but he struck money and his coins are known in Silver and Copper.

HASSAN SHAH 1472-1484 AD

Hassan Shah, the son of Haider Shah ascended the throne in 1472 AD. He was helped by Malik Muhammad Yatu who later became the minister in the Darbar of Sultan. Jahangir Raina was appointed as commander in chief. Sultan Hassan Shah endeavored to revive the practices and edicts of his grandfather (Zain-ul-Abiden) and attempted to clear mistakes committed by his father. He re-built several mosques and Khanqah's which included the grand mosque of Nowhatta and Khanqah Shah Hamdan which earlier were built by Sultan Sikendar and had suffered damages in a fire. He also encouraged Hindus and Buddhist to repair their temples and Varahas. It was during his period that Shamas-ud-Din Iraqi a Shia Scholar arrived Kashmir and stayed here for several years, Shamas-ud-Din initiated the teaching of Shia school of thought which attracted the Chak tribe royals and they got enfolded in the tents of Shia sect. When Sultan Hassan felt sick. He invited his noble Syed Hassan and advised him that as his sons are yet unmatured so one of his brothers should be crowned after his death.

MUHAMMAD SHAH 1484-1486 AD

Syed Hassan did not kept the promise and installed Muhammad Shah seven year old son of the king who was from his own daughter Hayat Khatun, to the throne. The affairs of the state were virtually carried on by Sayyid Hassan himself. The Sultan was crowned in 1484 AD. However Kashmiri royals did not liked Syed Hassan and his other men, because they were outsiders and had no way of proper treatment for local nobles. Syed Hussain with his men got than killed in an conspiracy at Nowshehra fort. The ugly event helped in widening cracks what had already taken place in between local and outsider nobles.

The outsider Syed's were driven out of valley and their properties were confiscated. Jahangir Magray the local noble become the prime minister. "There was unity in the country with the presence of Syeds", says Mohibul Hassan in his outstanding book, 'Kashmir under Sultans' and when they were put to route the local nobles again started quarling with each other, the nobility got divided, one group favoured the Sultan where another group invited the son of Adham Khan, the later reached Hurpura, he was stopped by Jahangir Magrey. There was fight in between the Fateh Khan and Shahi forces, where in Fateh Shah got defeated and went back to Punjab for shetter. One year passed Fateh Khan arrived at Bharamgula (Poonch) and collected his forces with in intention to proceed towards valley. This was his second attempt when he reached on the Karewa of Nagam Pargan, he was pushed back by the royal forces of Kashmir, Fateh Khan did not lost his courage he failed in third attempt too, however, his forth attempt proved fruitful, in which he won the battle, Jahangir Magray the

prime minister left the field. While the other noble Syed Khan went into the group of Fateh Khan. Sultan Muhammad Shah who attempted to escape was arrested by the men of Fateh Khan and put behind the bars.

FATEH SHAH 1486-1493 AD

Fateh Khan was crowned in 1486 AD under the title of Fateh Shah. He appointed his trusted follower Saif-ud-Din Dar as prime minister. Fateh Shah was a simple man with little knowledge of politics, and it is said that he became puppet in the hands of nobility. His prime minister attempted to over power him which angered the Sultan. To curb his power, Fateh Shah sought the help of Masrat Raina, Sarhang Raina, Mosa Raina and Shamas Chak and with the support of these friendly nobles, Saif-ud-Din Dar was killed in a fierce hand to hand fight. Fateh Shah now breathed more freely and rewarded Shamas Chak by appointing him as his prime minister. However, it also proved short lived and only after two years dissensions again broke into the nobles, which finally resulted in losing the Sultan his throne. The nobles who were faithful to Muhammad Shah, took him out of confinement and installed him for the second time on the throne of Kashmir.

MUHAMMAD SHAH II 1493-1514 AD

On taking over the affairs of the kingdom, second turn, he appointed Syed Muhammad as his prime minister and soon went towards Shamas Chak to destroy him. He was accompanied by his prime minister Syed Muhammad, Ibrahim Magray, Mosa Raina (nobles). Shamas Chak was defeated in the battle of Sopure (North Kashmir). He ran away to Trehgam and then left for

Naushehra where Fateh Shah was living in exile. At here, Muhammad Shah returned back to Srinagar and gave a big Jagir to Mosa Raina as a reward in the defeating Shamas Chak. But what Mosa has expected from his Sultan, he did not receive that so he got engaged and with other nobles made conspiracy against the Sultan. He had also differences with the ideas of Syed Muhammad.

The rebel nobles then invited Fateh Shah from Naushahra, and when he reached Hurpur (Shopian) he had to face the royal forces of Kashmir. There was a Sanguinary battle, Syed Muhammad who was leading the royal forces lost his life in the battle. Royal forces were defeated. Sultan could hardly escape himself and left for Naushara. Fateh Shah claimed his victory and entered the valley.

FATEH SHAH II 1514 AD

Fateh Shah in his second turn of rule appointed Shamas Chak who had shared his exiled life as his prime minister. The other nobles, like Ibrahim Magrey and Mosa Raina did not liked it and they made a conspiracy against the newly appointed prime minister, Shamas Chak was put behind the bars, however, it was not a sufficient punishment as he has killed Saif-ud-Din Dar and ended Dargar tribe so he was ultimately murdered in the prison. Musa Raina succeeded Shamas Chak to prime minister ship. His first work was to recall Shamas-ud-din Iraqi from Sakardu to preach the Shia doctrine to the people of valley. He himself got indulged in preaching of Shia doctrine. This was not liked by his friendly nobles. He lost Ibrahim Magrey's friendship. Fateh Shah and other nobles, also did not liked the beliefs of Mosa Raina.

The later had no option except to leave the country. Fateh Shah now appointed Ibrahim Magrey as his prime minister.

He invited Malik Usman and Wati Malik from Hindustan. Ibrahim Magrey could held the office only for 40 days, the Sardars whom he had invited went against him. He also for left Hindustan and provided opportunity to Usman Malik to become the minister, who in turn was succeeded Usman. The contention between the nobles, made people tired of the political uncertainty. Meanwhile all the exiled nobles patched up their differences and decided to launch an attack on the valley and restore Muhammad Shah to the throne. A series of battles with the forces of Fateh Shah resulted in restoration of Muhammad Shah to the throne and made Fateh Shah to fled. This turn Fateh Shah's rule losted only forfew months.

MUHAMMAD SHAH III 1515 AD

Muhammad Shah restored the throne third turn in 1514. However, it only proved of little duration. He appointed Ibrahim Magrey as his prime minister because he has restored the crown by Magray's efforts. Fateh Shah on the other hand did not remained silent. He initiated possibilities to regain the throne again. For the purpose he sent his son Habib Khan to assess the situations. Habib while reaching here met with Jahangir Badr and other Chak nobles, whom assured him of every help in restoration of the throne. Chak nobles, who had some relation with Fateh Shah invited him back, Muhammad Shah could not stand by the power of Chak nobles and had to left to Panjab.

FATEH SHAH III 1515-1517 AD

Fateh Shah in his third and lost turn became the king in 1515 AD for two years. His lost turn of two years were as usual spent in intrigues and cross intrigues of the rival factions. He was merely a figure head while the kingdom remained distributed among the Chak and other nobles.

In the autumn of 1515 Muhammad Shah with the help of Magreys made bid to capture the throne but did not meet with any success. Later he went to the court of Sultan Sikandar Lodhi at Delhi in 1517 and obtained military help of 3,000 men. Before his arrival in the valley serious differences had arisen between Fateh Shah and his nobles. Fateh Shah had to surrender before the rebels and he

left to Punjab with his son Nuzuk Shah where he died in August 1517 AD. His body was brought Srinagar and laid to final rest in Mazari Sulateen of Zaina Kadal near the grave of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden.

MUHAMMAD SHAH IV 1517-1528 AD

Muhammad Shah on hearing of these developments left the Lodhi's assistance behind, and with his personal followers proceeded towards Srinagar. He ascended the throne for the fourth turn in 1517 AD. Muhammad Shah appointed Kazichak as his prime minister. He then returned to Punjab to thank the troops of Lodhi and sent them back to Delhi. On his return from Punjab he has to spent winter in Nowshehra as all the passes leading to valley were blocked by snow.

The period experienced heavy rise in fight, between Kashmiri nobles and the of Chak nobles. on the other hand, Mughals were founding a strong kingdom under

Abu Said, in central Asia. Another branch of this dynasty was rending its cohorts over the Khybar to lay the firm foundation of an empire. Such developments in the neighbourhood did not left the valley uninfluenced. However, it also contributed towards a more conflicting and confusing history of Kashmir of the last few Sultans. At Srinagar, it is said that Kazichak dethroned Muhammad Shah of his chair and crowned his son Ibrahim Shah as the Sultan of Kashmir.

IBRAHIM SHAH 1528-1529 AD

Ibrahim Shah ascended the throne under the patronage of Kazi Chak in 1528 AD. He was merely a puppet in his hands while all matters rested in the hands of Kazi Chak. The Kashmiri nobles Malik Ali Chadura, Regi Chak and Magreys who were living an exiled life at Noushera with Nazuk Shah sent one Abdal Magri (noble) in the court of Babar Shah to sought and obtain aid to fight against Kazi Chak. In the spring of 1528 AD, Nazuk Shah with the Mughal and rebellion nobles entered Kashmir and defeated Kashmir forces at Tapar Kazichak fled. Ibrahim Shah was dethroned and Nuzuk Shah was crowned as the Sultan of Kashmir.

NAZUK SHAH 1529-1530 AD

Nazuk Shah succeeded the throne under the little of Naider Shah in 1529 AD. This king is also identified by this name on his coins found in Kashmir. He shifted his seat to Nowshara and made Abdal Magrey as his prime minister like his predecessor, he was also puppet in the hands of his nobles. His rule lasted for one year when Muhammad Shah was recalled back.

MUHAMMAD SHAH 1530-1538 AD

Muhammad Shah was called back by Kashmiri nobles in the summer of 1530 AD and was made the Sultan of Kashmir. He was the Sultan by name while the all matters rested into the hands of nobles. The nobles namely Abdal Magrey, Lahur Magrey, Regi Chalk and Malik Ali Chadura is said had divided the empire among themselves. This was the lost turn for Sultan Muhammad Shah during which he ruled the kingdom for about eight years.

ARRIVAL OF MUGHAL

As already mentioned that the branches of Mughal dynasty had established themselves in the eastern frontier in central Asia and another in Khybar. Barbar who has brought Delhi under his sway sent his two commanders Kuchak Beg and Ali Beg to Kashmir under an invitation from the nobles of Kashmir to help the later against the Kazi Chak. The Mughal commanders are said entered Kashmir with Nadir Shah and stayed here for some time. Later on they were given a warm send of and Malik Ali a Kashmiri noble went with them upto Naushara on the other hand another branch of Mughals under the leadership of Abu Said has carved out a small kingdom to the neighborhood of Kashmir with capital at Kashgar. The history tells that Mirza Haider Daughlat, the cousin of Babar left the later in Fargana while him self reached Kashgar and joined the forces of Abu Said. It was under the able braveness and tactics of warfareness of Mirza Haider that his master undertook the ambitious campaign for the rediction of Ladakhi and Tibet. It is said, for about 19 years or till the death of Abu Said, Haider served his master faithfully. He made expeditions to Ladakh and Baltistan and entered valley

of Kashmir though Zojila Pass in March 1553. This time Mirza, did not stayed in valley but returned back to Kashgar. It was during 1540 AD that Mirza Daughlat who was in Lahore in Humyunis court, desired to secure the valley of Kashmir for Humayun. He was given a small force, with which he entered the valley via Tossamaidan Pass.

At Srinagar, Muhammad was succeed by his another son Shamas-ud-Din, like his father , he had came under the domination of Kazi Chak. Kazi Chak a shrewd politician gave his daughter in marriage to Shamas-ud-Din's brother. After only a years rule Shamas-ud-Din died and was succeeded by his brother Ismail, the son-in-law of Kazi Chak, who continued in the office till 1540 AD. By the time Mirza has appeared strong on the politician scene and seized the throne.

NAZUK SHAH II 1540-1552 AD

Placing Nazuk Shah second turn in the throne, Mirza Haider carried on the administration in his name for a period of eleven years. Mirza Haider although initially let loose an era of persecution and tyranny against Shia nobility and promoted Sunni doctrine of Islam but in his matured years ruled the valley on more liberal lines. He turned good to his non Muslims subjects and introduced several new arts and crafts to Kashmir besides reviving many industries originally introduced by Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. The kingdom which has lost the economic prosperity soon after the death of Budshah gained the same with in a very short period. He opened schools and built several Mosques and Hamams in Srinagar. He introduced new types of wooden works, and new types of windows and doors in public buildings. Shreen Chai

(the salt tea) is also said to have been introduced by him. He was not only a patron of learning and art but himself a well learned man. Besides looking after the general matters of the kingdom. He could carve the time in his busy life to write several books, the chief being his absorbing 'Tarikhi-Rashidi' which he completed while in Kashmir. On the other hand all the Kashmiri nobles were not happy with Mughals, and few rebel nobles established their headquarters at Khanpur. Haider who rode to Khanpur to punish the insurgents cost his own life in the battle. In Oct 1551 AD his body was brought to Srinagar, and was laid to rest in the graveyard of Mazari Sulateen at Zaina Kadal, Srinagar⁸

In 1552 Nazuk Shah was deposed and Ibrahim Shah was proclaimed second time the king of Kashmir. He was in turn dethroned and succeeded by Ismail Shah. This was also the second turn of Ismail Shah to the throne of Kashmir. Ismail was succeeded by his son Habib Shah in 1557 AD. The Chak nobles by the time had set-up full control over the Kashmir nobility. As these were the people responsible for commissioning of the Sultans. Gazi Chak now began to work out his policy and took an upper hand in accusing the Sultans, helped by his brother Ali Chak, the Gazi Chak finally removed Habib and placed crown on his own head and proclaimed himself the Sultan of Kashmir in 1561 AD. Chaks were basically the employees in the court of the Shahmeri Sulateen since the times of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. Gradually upgraded their selves and attained higher administrative positions. In the court of Muhammad Shah and Fateh they got elevated at the top brass. It provided them way to interfere into the administrative and foreign affairs of the estate. They were by birth bold and brave

and developed matrimonial relationships with the Shahmeri Sultans. This made them equal to Sultans. On the other hand the later Sulateen could not show the stability of the throne, the kingships changed one after the other very cheaply, which finally provided opportunity to the Chaks to wear the crown over their own heads i.e. what its founder Gazi Chak did, who also got full control over the Kashmir nobility.

HOUSE OF CHAK SULTANS

01. Ghazi Shah	1561-1566 AD
02. Hussain Shah	1563-1570 AD
03. Ali Shah	1570-1578 AD
04. Yousuf Shah	1578-1586 AD
05. Yaqub Shah	1586 AD

GHAZI CHAK 1561-1563 AD

Ghazi Chak thus ascended the Kashmir throne in 1561 and founded the Chak dynasty. He established a semblance of peace and reconquered some of the former territories of the kingdom which included Sakardu, Gilget, Kishtawar and Pakhli. He also had to face the rebellion organized by his nobles Nasrat and Yusuf Chak he could uproot it truly but finally he fell pray to leprosy which costed his life. He declared his brother Hussain Khan as his heir.

HUSSAIN SHAH 1563-1570 AD

Hussain succeeded to his brother in 1563 AD. He appointed Malik Muhammad Naji as his minister, Syed

Habib a Sunni jurist was appointed as Qazi of Srinagar and Imam of Jamia Masjid. by the time the relations between Sunnis and Shia's of the city had improved lot. It is said that although he was Shia. He followed the Hanfia school of thought for implementation of Muslim laws. He gave complete religions freedom to non-Muslims and participated in their festivals too. Among all other Chak rulers, the Sultan is considered the most tolerant one. Akbar sent his envoy namely Muhammad Muqim to Kashmir during Hussain Shah's rule. They were treated with respect and sent back with gifts for the emperor. Hussain Shah also sent his daughter for marriage to prince Salim but these things alongwith the Sultans daughter were sent back by Akbar. This event shocked the Sultan who died shortly after it at Zainpura. Hussain Shah ruled the Sulanate for about seven years.

ALI SHAH 1570-1578 AD

Ali Shah succeeded his brother in 1570 AD and appointed Syed Mubarak as his minister. He was his old faithful friend. He also gave his daughter to his son.

Ali Shah made several expeditions to the hilly principalities. He attacked Bahadur Singh the ruler of Khistwar and defeated him. The later gave the wife of one of his relatives to Sultan as a token of love. During the times Akbar sent his two envoys to his court and desired the daughter of Hussain Shah for his prince Salim. Ali Shah accepted the offer and sent her to the royal Darbar of Akbar with presents. Ali Shah is said to had read Khutba and struck coins in the name of Akbar. He was also a tolerant ruler and has no distinction between a Shia and Sunni. Ali Shah held the great Sunni saints in great respect. Sultan was a partron of polo,

unfortunately he succumbed to the injuries he received while playing the game at Idga Srinagar. He ruled the kingdom for eight years.

YOUSUF SHAH 1578-1586 AD

Yousuf Shah was the elder son of Ali Shah and was crowned before Ali Shah succumbed to the injury. He appointed Muhammad Bhat as his minister. Hardly after passing of the two months of his rule he has to face rebellion from Abdal Bhat. Yousuf Shah who used to spend most of his times in roaming on the beautiful mountains and flowery meadows was not liked by his most of the nobles. So he was soon replaced by Syed Mubarak Shah for a period of 6 months.

Mubarak Shah was a very simple man but did not provide any chance to his nobility to mend their gain through him, so he was also replaced and Shankar Chak's son Lohur Chak was crowned as the Sultan of Kashmir with Abdal Bhat as his minister.

Meanwhile Yousuf Shah who was staying at Thana got fed up from Kashmir nobility. He went into court of Akbar along with Raja Mansingh to Agra and applied for aid. He was offered a warm welcome by Akbar, Mansingh and Mirza. Yousuf was put at his disposal for the recovery of his throne. In November 1580 AD Yousuf Shah recovered his seat and appointed again Muhammad Bhat as his prime minister. Emperor Akbar who has desired Sultan's personal homage got angered when Sultan instead of presenting himself sent his son to the court of Akbar. Akbar, who was lying his claim of Kashmir because it had been conquered by Mirza Haider Daughlat in the name of Hamyum continued to take active interest in political developments of the state.

In December , 1585, Raja Bhagwan Das alongwith a strong Mughal army was ordered to attack Kashmir. The Mughals invasion was defeated. However, an agreement was arrived upon, under which Mughal agreed to withdraw from occupied parts of Kashmir and Yousuf Shah retained the seat but the coins were struck and Khutba was to be read in the name of Akbar. Bhagwandas also persuaded the Sultan to meet the Mughal Samrat Akbar. When Yousuf Shah reached to meet Akbar, Mughal emperor refused to approve the agreement reached by the Mughal forces and Sultani Kashmir. He ordered for the imprisonment of Sultan. Sultan was jailed for about three years later on freed and granted some land in Bihar. Where he died in September 1592 and was buried at Bishwak in Patna district⁹.

YUQUB SHAH 1586 AD

Mughal forces who in an temporary agreement had withdrawn from Kashmir paved way for Yuqub Shah the son of Yousuf Shah to declare himself as the Sultan of Kashmir in 1586.

Like emperor Akbar, he showed no regard for the agreement and struck coins in his own name. He appointed Ali Dar his chief minister and adopted a non-tolerant policy towards his Sunni subjects. He stressed upon the Ulama's to follow up of Shia doctrine of Muslims faith Qazi Musa a reputed saint and Islamic scholar was done to death for refusing to mention the name of Ali in all prayer callings (Azan). Since the general population of the country was reduced to abject poverty and lawlessness ruled supreme. The Kashmir nobility got fed up from the tyranny of Yuqub Shah and decided to invite the emperor Akbar to rule Kashmir.

Baba Dawood Khaki (RA) left for Multan while as a group of Kashmiri nobles and intellectuals under the leadership of an eminent theologian, poet and writer Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi went to the Darbar of the emperor Akbar and invited him to annex Kashmir with Mughal empire to put an end to the chronic interneceve warfare in Kashmir. An instrument of accession was signed under which the following conditions were incorporated¹⁰.

01. Freedom to worship and non interference into the religious matters of Kashmir.

02. There would be no interference in buying and selling nor in the rates of consumption goods.

03. Kashmiri's would not be made slaves.

04. Kashmiris would not be teased.

05. All such nobles found guilty of mischief shall have no part in administration.

After signing of the accession document Akbar made his third attempt to Kashmir. Mughal forces invaded Kashmir via Pir Panchal Pass. Qasim Khan headed the army while Sarfi and Haider Chak guided the invaders. Although Youqub Shah did let no stone unturned to retain his seat but was defeated at Hirpur. The later entered Kashmir on Oct. 14, 1586. Youqub who fled from the battle field was arrested and brought to his father at Biswak Bihar where he died in Oct. 1593 and is buried near his father's grave. Mirza Qasim Khan was appointed the first Mughal Subedar by emperor Akbar. Coins were struck and Khutaba was read in the name of Akbar.

COINS

Coins are the most important source to the history. For certain periods they constitute the only evidence for the historians. For example, while reconstructing the

chronology of Indo-Greek, Indo-Sethien, Indo-Parthian, Kushan and Kidara dynasties scholar found their coinages very important source of information. All most all the names of rulers of these dynasties were deciphered from their respective coin issues. For the medieval history of Kashmir, coins did not supply sufficient informations and serve as 'corroborative source for the period it has got a very good literay evidence. Kalhana's Ratrangni and other such chronicles supplied enough informations to the historians that they hardly required to depend entirely on numismatics still it is not only that coins help in framing of various chronologies of different dynasties, but also constitute a standing evidences for the economic, and cultural developments of a particular period of history. The poor economy and trade reflected by its coins suggest that during Sultanate period it had not recovered to the extent that it required well established gold coinages. The silver coins of the period are also not so common. But on the other hand its silver and extremely rare gold issues suggested that the economic conditions had not been so worse as were in later periods of Hindu rule. The cultural developments evident by the Sultanate coins speaks of the flourishing of arabic and persian languages. These languages served as the official languages of the period Sultanate period the entire coins of the period also bear legends in arabic and persian letters.

DENOMINATIONS, WEIGHT AND VALUE

There are various numismatic terms recorded in Kashmir history which some times refer to various denominations and some times to its units. These terms gleaned from historical accounts are:-

Cowri, Kani, Dinnar, Ashrafi, Tanka, Siyah Pole, Rupaka, Suvarna, Rob Sasnu, Karsha, Kasirah, Barahkanis, Panchis, Hats, Sasnu, Pan, Sikkah etc.

The lowest unit of the Kashmir money account was based on Coweri which was used for small and minor transactions, Kani was the other unit of its money account which was equal to (2 Surkhs or Ratis, $1.82 \text{ grains} \times 2 = 3.64 \text{ grain}$), twelve and a half Kanis made one Barakkani or 'Twelver', two Barakanis or twenty five Kanis made a Panchi or twenty fivers or Kasirah. Four Panchis, or twenty fivers or one hundred Kanis made a hat or hundred. Ten hats or one thousand Kanis made one Sasnu or thousander and $1\frac{1}{2}$ Sasnu was equal to one Rab-Sasnu or Rop Sasnu or Sikkah.

This account of the monetary system given by Cunningham in his catalogue of coins of medieval India had been extracted by him from *Aine-Akbari* by Abdul Fazal. There are various units of money account also used as the names of various coins. Panchi was a copper coin equal to one quarter of a dams of Akbars money. Dam was of 320 grains. Thus Panchi might have been weighed around 80 grains or $\frac{1}{4}$ Dam of 320 grains. The deep observations of copper coins weight ranges from 71 to 100 grains. Several half Panchies are also know weighing 50 to 35 grains. The Panchis were also called Kasirah. The Hat was equal to one Dam or $\frac{1}{40}$ th of a rupee. The Sasnu was equal to 10 Dams or $\frac{1}{4}$ rupees.

Hat has been a unit not a coin, rupee was Mughal silver coin. While as Sasnu was the name of silver coin of Sultans weighing under 90 to 94 grains.

Cunningham who had weighed 28 specimens of Muhammadan Silver coins gives average weight of

silver coins 94 grains. He has suggested it as double Sasnu or 4 half Sarsnus he gives the following table of silver coinage.

Sasnu has been weighing around 44.8 grs (5.9-6.2 grms) half Sasnu 22.4 grs. (3 grams) while as double Sasnu 89.6 grs. (10.5 grms).

TABLE

1/2 Sasnu + 5 Hats	= 22.4 grs	= 1 Kona or
1/2 Karsha One Sasnu (Punch Marked Coins)	= 10 Hats	= 44.8 grs = 1 Karsha
One Rab-Sasnu	= 15 Hats = 67.2 grs	= 1 Drachma (Greek)
Two Sasnu	= 20 Hats = 89.6 grs	= 2 Karshas

The gold coins were denominated either Tanka or Survarnas and weighed about 89.6 grs or (10.5 grms). Dinnar were the earlier coins issued by Kushan prices. Dinnar's of tormanana and other earlier kings are also known, Tanka were earlier issued by Delhi Sultans. Few Kashmiri Sultan imitated them and issued it in copper, silver and gold. The terms like *Ashrafi*, *Pan*, *Siyah Pole* although referred in literatures for substituting various denominations but no specimens of these types have yet been found. Queen of Mohammad Shah is said to have spent Ashrafies besides, Tankas in construction of Khanqah Mir Shamas-ud-Din. In Chak period *Jizya* was taken in form of Pan what coin or denomination it meant is not clear. On the other hand Hussain Shah is said to have struck coins in proto tormanana type but such coins are also not reported from anywhere. *Siyah Pole* is mentioned in a document where under the total value of the propriety of Khanqah Sheikh Humza Makhdoom (RA) is estimated as one thousand *Siyah pole*¹¹. This unit of money is also

indistinct. The other numismatic terms discussed above is clear, refer to the names of the coins and their various units.

METALS AND TYPES

Numismatists and scholars like Rodgers, Lane Pole, Nelson Wright, others who worked on Kashmir Sultanate coinages had not come across coins of the earlier five Sultans, Sultan Shamas Shah, Jamshid, Aludin-Ali-Sher, Shahab-ud-Din and Qutub-ud-Din. These Sultans either did not coined money or their coins were not found. However, Nelson Wright in his catalogue of the, coins in Indian Museum Calcutta has attributed a single silver coin to Shams Shah Ist, Dilip Rajgor also in his standard catalogue of Sultanate coins has mentioned single silver coin of the same king but other numismatists have questioned its identity and these experts believe it as the coin of Shamas Shah II (941-42 AH). In view of these observations the Sultanate numismatic history emerges from the period of Sultan Skinder who ascended the throne in 788 AH and continued upto 813 AH. Prior to Sultanate coins, the constant type of the Kashmir coinage was the standing Raja and seated Goddess type. This type was introduced by a Kushan King named Kanishak in Circa 78 AD. The Hindu Rajas and Maharajas continued their mints in this type down to the Muhammadan conquest in 1339 AD. It served the Kashmir money market for about 1261 years. However, in the later stages, the type become so much degraded that it is difficult to say which figure is intended for the standing king and which for sitting goddess on the coins of later Rajas. This type got replaced by the *Al-Sultan Al Azam* type which was introduced by Kashmir Muslim

Sultans in the 14th century AD. Sultans coined money in copper, silver and gold. Few brass coins of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden are also known ¹².

GOLD

The gold coins are extremely rare only few pieces have been mentioned by various numismatists. The gold coins found are of Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden. Haider Shah, Hassan Shah, Humayun, Ibrahim Shah and Mubarak Shah¹³. However, few numismatists have also found gold coins of Sultan Sikender, Mohammad Shah, Fateh Shah, Shamas Shah II and Yousuf Shah¹⁴ their gold issues weighed 11 grms. (175) ratis. In the obverse of these coins is placed Kalima in a circle and around it the mint name Darul-Sultanate Kashmir with Arabic legend the translation of which is 'be safe from destruction.'

The reverses of these coins bear the issuers name with respective titles certain variations in reverses have been observed, e.g. There is Naib-i-Amir-ul-Moomi-neen, Qutub-ud-Din Abdul Mujahid, Al Adal, Al Sultan like titles attached with Zain-ul-Abidens coins. Naib-i-Khalifa Al Rahman Al Sultan on Haider Shah's coins¹⁵. These two Sultans had declared their selves as the Naib of Khalifa of the time. Similarly, the other Sultans in their gold issues had given place to their respective legends.

SILVER

The silver coins are known of all the Sultans who coined money in their name. Their coins are square shaped and weigh between 91 Rati and 96 Rati 6.1 grms to 6.3 grms. The obverses contain Al Sultan Al Azam and the name of issuer. The reverse carries mint name and date. Zarbi Kashmir in a handsome lozenge, around it the date

in Arabic letters. Some times date is given in figures but on obverse side of the coin. The Chak Sultans looks to have dropped Arabic legends from their reverses instead given way to Persian letters. The date on such coins is written in Persian letters. However, Hussain Shah Chak has also kept few of the reverses of his coins in Arabic legends, although, the entire silver coinage of the Sultans is square shaped but there are few circular shaped coins too. These coins are of Zain-ul-Abiden and Haider Shah. Such coins on obverses carry the title Al Sultan Al Azam and the name of its issuer on their reverse. One Tanka of Zain-ul-Abiden bears the legend Abul Muzaffar Al Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden its reverse reads Naib-i-Amir-ul Moomineen Gayas-u-Dullah-wa-Din. This type of coin is the proto type of Delhi Sultanate coinage based on Tanka weight standard and weigh 11 grms.

COPPER

Al-Sultan Al Azam (the supreme sovereign) with bar and knot in centre had been the constant type adopted by Kashmiri Sultan's for their entire copper coinage for about 250 years. In this type, Al Sultan Al Azam is placed on obverse and below it the name of the issuer. The total legend is bisected by the line, and a knot, a circle or a square in centre. The reverse represents mint name and date in Arabic and Persian words and figures. However, there are few coins issued by Zain-ul-Abiden, Ali Shah, Hassan Shah which do not bear the bar and knot. The rest copper coinages of Sultans are somehow in uniform type. Most of the copper coins are very common but few are rare. The Zain-ul-Abiden, Hussain Shah, Haider Yousuf Shah & Akbars Shah's few types are rare. The average copper coins are circular shaped

8 cm in size and weigh between 3 grams and 7 grms. Excluding the Zain-ul-Abiden coins, the other issuer have placed 'Shah' with their name. Zain-ul-Abiden and Haider Shah just like their silver one's on few copper coins are titled as Naib Amir and Naib Khalifa. On reverse of some of the coins the mint name 'Zarbi Kashmir' is placed in long. The Shahmeri Sultans on their coins adopted Arabic words for writing of mint name and date while the Chak Sultan's dropped Arabic in place have given way to Persian letters. Expect Sultan Hussain Shah who on his few issues has continued Arabic legends too.

The Chak Sultans adopted the title of Gazi which is placed with their respective names on the obverses of their coins. Some of their Sultans also inducted Nasser-ud-Din with their names on their coins. Yousuf Shah's recently discovered few coins bear Salari Azam instead of Al-Sultan Al-Azam¹⁶.

Akbar Shah who annexed Kingdom in AH 995 discontinued Al Sultan Al Azam type instead adopted Jalal-ud-Din type. In this type he placed Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar Shah on obverse of his copper coins. However, he could not drop the traditional 'bar and knot' of Sultans and hence placed it in more ornamented form. For the reverse of his coins he followed Chaks and maintained the reverses of his coins in Persian letters.

BARTHANA HOARD

Barthana a small hamlet is situated on the out-skirts of Srinagar city towards its north-western side. The place is said served as the battle field for several Sultans of Kashmir. Yousuf Shah Chak is said to had defeated his rival Lahura Chak in battle of Barthana. Lahura Chak had earlier established himself in Barthana. When he

was defeated he left to Srinagar, Yousuf Shah captured Barthana and then preceded towards the capital city¹⁷. The historical significance of the village got also revealed when a largest hoard of Kashmir coins were found while digging out a grave in its historical graveyard¹⁸.

The hoard carried 1440 coins which were kept in an earthen pitcher under the ground. Although most of the coins were illegible but 645 legible coins were also traced from the hoard. The names of twelve Sultans were read on these coins. The legible coins of the hoard are classified as under.

CLASSIFICATION OF COINS

The coins of various Sultans of Kashmir belonging to Shahmeri and Chak dynasties deciphered from the largest hoard of Barthana Qamarwari Srinagar.

NAME OF ISSUER	No of COINS
01. Sikender Shah	1
02. Zain-ul-Abiden	8
03. Haider Shah	1
04. Hassan Shah	25
05. Muhammad Shah	170
06. Fateh Shah	180
07. Ibrahim Shah	55
08. Nazak Shah (Naider Shah)	40
09. Ismail Shah	25
10. Hussain Snah	10
11. Yousuf Shah	100
12. Jalal-ud-Din Akbar	30

The significance of the Barthana hoard lies in the fact

that it was first time in the numismatic history of the country that such a big hoard of coins of Kashmiri Sultans was found.

It carried the coins of nine Shahmeri and tow Chak issuers. The coins in the hoard were placed in a chronological order and its study revealed several types of Sultanate coinages.

There were found few rare and unknown types of the coins. For examples Yousuf Shah Chak's Al Sultan Al Azam types are known but his Salar-i-Azam coins were first to appear in this hoard. The issuer on the obverse of such coins has placed legend Salar-i-Azam instead of the normal title Al Sultan Al Azam. The another important aspect of the hoard is that it was first time that coins of Mughal emperor Akbar were found in associaiton with Sultante coins in the hoard. These coins are based on the typology of Sultanate coins and display a more handosme bar and knot on their obverses. Coins are also struck on the local weight standard that was of Panchis.

DESCRIPTION

The constant type in copper coinage of Sultans of Kashmir as already said was Al sultan and Al Azam with bar and knot dividing the obverse face of the coin. Sultan Sikender on his coins is named a Sikender Shah which is shown below the bar and knot above which has been given place to the title Al Sultan Al Azam, the reverse depicts date in crude arabic legend which is partly visible with zarbi Kashmir which gives the date 851 AH. As already mentioned that on their copper coinages Sultans have hardly followed any correct sequences of dates, Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden in this constant type made a few

classes, in normal classcoins, the simple bar and knot is visible dividing the face of coins, on few it is to some extent decorative. Besides, the traditional Al Sultan Al Azam type, his Delhi type coins were also deciphered in the hoard. On such coins bar and knot is absent the later class of coins is believed to had been struck by the Sultan on Delhi type pattern which speckes of his normalrelationswith Delhi Sultans. However, the constant legend Al Sultan Al Azam is repeated on all his other issues.. His Delhi type coins are know by Tanka while the others normally as Panchi. Haider Shah is represented by a single coin in smaller flan, denominated as half Panchi. A normal square knot divides the face and provides place for the legend Al Sultan Al Azam below it Haider Shah the reverse legend is missing. Hassan Shah's few Panchis depict a circular knot, the legend with its issuer name runs similar as above, the date in Arabic words partly readable on few coins, gives the date AH 874 with Zarbi Kashmir.

Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah had got the maximum number of coins in the hoard 170 and 180 respectively. The formers coins are in two denominations in broader and smaller flan. These coins are poorly deviced . The obverse legend makes some sense but the revease had been deviced so poorly that it makes no sense of dates. The partly visible fragmentary legend on reverse reads Zarbi Kashmir below it Fi Shahur (in the months of) Wa Sabain (70).

The later's coins are also deviced in similar, broader and smaller flans but in single type, above the simple knot Al Sultan Al Azam below it the name of the issuer (Fateh Shah) on some coins the name has been placed in a circle but on such coins bar and knot is missing.

The reverse legend which is partly evident carry the mint name and dates.

The coins of Ibrahim Shah are in smaller flan and too poorly deviced to the extent that some times his name is identified by initial letters of the name, viz (lb) the rest is off the flan, on reverse dates are indistinct. Nazuk Shah has also got the poorly deviced coins in a single monotonous type but is read on coins by the name of Nader Shah. Ismail Shah is the lost Shahmeri Sultan represented by 25 coins. These are all half Panchis in smaller flan, the reverse legend is indistinct while as the obverse had given place to the issuers name which is also partly visible below the square type bar and knot. The Shahmeri Sultans like their predecessors (Hindu Rajas) looked to had not paid any serious attention towards their mints i.e. why there copper issues provides a monotonous type which are poorly deviced and does not demonstrated any impressive devicing skill. Most of the legends are indistinct what ever is visible that too represent a poor hand. The reverse legends in some cases had writings in drawing shapes and does not make any sense. It is only Sultan Zain-ul-Abiden of this dynasty who looked to had protected the honour and attempted to live up to the traditions of other Sultanates of the Hindustan. Otherwise the other Shahmeri Sultans by their copper issues looks to had lost all sense of shame. The Chak Sultans of this famous kingdom does not stand in the same line they had to a large extent improved the copper coinages of Kashmir and attempted to bring its glory back which this coinage had lost soon after the kingdom was taken over by local ruler of Kashmir. The Chak Sultans as is evident by their coins have demonstrated an impressive artistic skill their coins are

handsomely executed and bear nice calligraphy styles. Their coins in execution are influenced by the imperial coinages of Mughal emperors of Hindustan. However, the type had not changed it is that what was introduced by Shahmeris that of Al Sultan Al Azam with bar and knot but instead of placing legends in arabic words Chaks looks to have favoured persian letters.

The Barthana hoard carried coins of few Chak Sultans too.

Hussain Shah's coin deciphered from the hoard are handsomely executed and carries impressive calligraphy style, besides, the constant Al Sultan Al Azam type he like Zain-ul-Abiden adopted few other titles for his name, on few coins of the hoard he is read as Naseer-ud-Din above the knot in place of Al Sultan Al Azam and below normally his name Hussain Shah. The date in reverse is given in Persian words and figures which reads 971 AH. Mint name is missing, the all other his coins are in traditional Al Sultan Al Azam type but are better executed than his predecessors. His coins bear dates in Persian, 975 and 977.

Sultan Yousuf Shah besides issuing coins in Al Sultan Al Azam type with date in Persian words 'Noh Sad Wa Haftad wa Hafat' had also on few coins titled himself as Salari Azam. He had demonstrated the traditional bar and knot into four major classes and in some cases it is more impressive which depicts a bunch of curves.

The only Mughal emperors coins deciphered from the hoard are of Jalal-ud-Din Muhammad Akbar. These coins are classified into the local series coins minted in Kashmir during initial years of his rule. By his these coins it is clear that the Mughal sultan did not instantly made Mughal coins obligatory for his newly won kingdom

instead continued to mint his coins in local prevalent traditions. He is identified in the hoard by 30 coins, obverse of his coins carries Jalal-ud-Din, in place of Al Sultan Al Azam above the traditional bar and knot, below it Muhammad Akbar. The reverse has given place to dates in Persian words like Noh Sad Wa Noh Dha 990 AH? The mint name is missing. Three classes of bar and knot dividing the face of his coins, plan squar, square divided by lines and a complete knot just looking a baneh of lines. The legends are in beautiful style which reminds us of Royal Mughal impressions.

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- | | |
|---|-------|
| 01. Kashmir Sulateen Ke Ahad Mein | P:60 |
| 02. Kashmir Sulateen Ke Ahad Mein | P:60 |
| 03. Tarikhi Hassan | P:85 |
| 04. Tarikhi Hassan Political Part | P:153 |
| 05. Kashmir Sulateen Ki Ahad Mein | P:77 |
| 06. Kashmir History and Archaeology through the ages 219-220 | |
| 07. Kashmir Sulateen Ke Ahad Mein | P:88 |
| 08. Hassan has recorded the following inscription on his grave stone. | |

شہ گورگاں مرزا حیدر آخر
 بمملک شہادت ذدہ کوس شاہی
 قضاے الہی چنین بود تاریخ
 شدہ بہر و صلش قضاے الہی

Moorcraft an European traveller who arrived Kashmir in

1824 AD identified the Mirza's grave and raised informative inscription on the grave. The tomb is poorly maintained. Recently a group of ~~Koz~~Kashmir intellectuals visited Kashmir to have the Zairat of the tomb. At the occasion a seminar was also held in Kashmir University in memory of Mirza Haider.

09. His grave was identified in a hamlet at Biswak (Bihar) and an informative inscription was installed by the state government of Jammu and Kashmir.

10. Waqat-i-Kashmir P:158

11. The document mentioning the tern *Siyah Pole* is preserved in manuscripts section of the SPS Museum Lal Mandi, Srinagar.

12. Zain-ul-Abideen's such coins are housed in the numismatic collection of SPS Museum Lal Mandi, Srinagar.

13. JRNS Vol-13 P:261

14. Standard Catalogue of Coins P:46

15. Kashmir Sulateen Ki Ahad Mein P:449

16. Barthana Coins, found at Barthan, Srinagar

17. Kashmir Sulateen Ki Ahad Mein P:264.

18. A hoard of 1440 copper coins were unearthed in 1999 by the residents of Barthan Qamarwari to the North-Western area of Srinagar city. The hoard was collected by Police Station Qamarwari and later handed over to the state department of archaeology J&K government. The hoard was given under my possession and was asked to study it. It took me several weeks in cleaning heavily rusted coins, efforts were made with aid of chemicals and fresh water to decrease and check the layers of the rust which had occupied the faces of the coins. Later coins were studied, Muhammad Hussain Makhdoomi, deputy director archaeology provided me

every help in study of the hoard.

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 111. J. A. Smith - Vol. 98
 112. J. A. Smith - Vol. 99
 113. J. A. Smith - Vol. 100



Hoard of coins being unearthed at barthana Srinagar

Silver Coins

Shams Shah II



Zain-ul-Abidine



Ismail Shah



Hamayun



Muhammad Hussain Gazi



Muhammad Yousuf Shah Gazi



Muhammad Yaqoob Shah



Sikander Shah

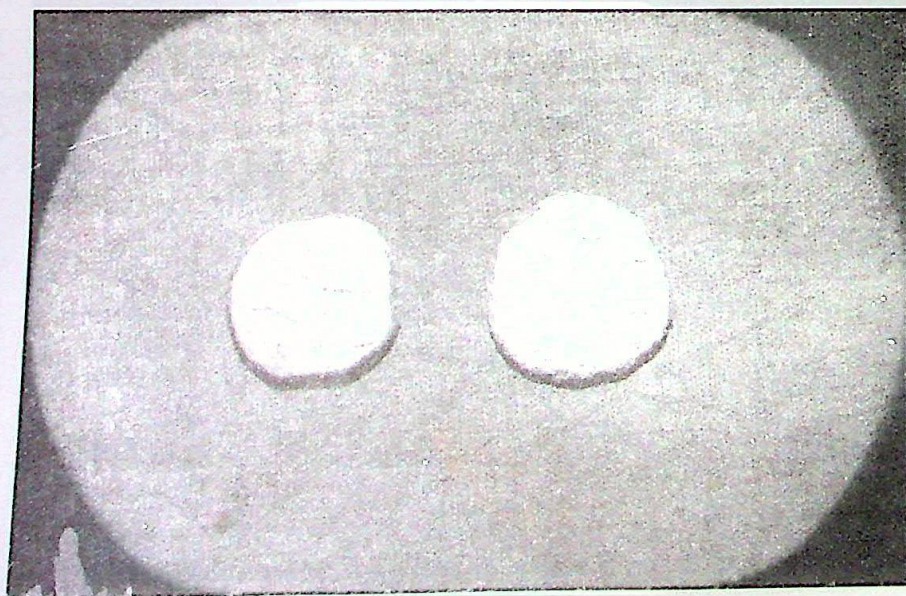


Al Sultan Al Azam Sikander Shah

Zain-ul-Abidine



Haider Shah



Hassan Shah



Al Sultan Al Azam Hassan Shah

Muhammad Shah



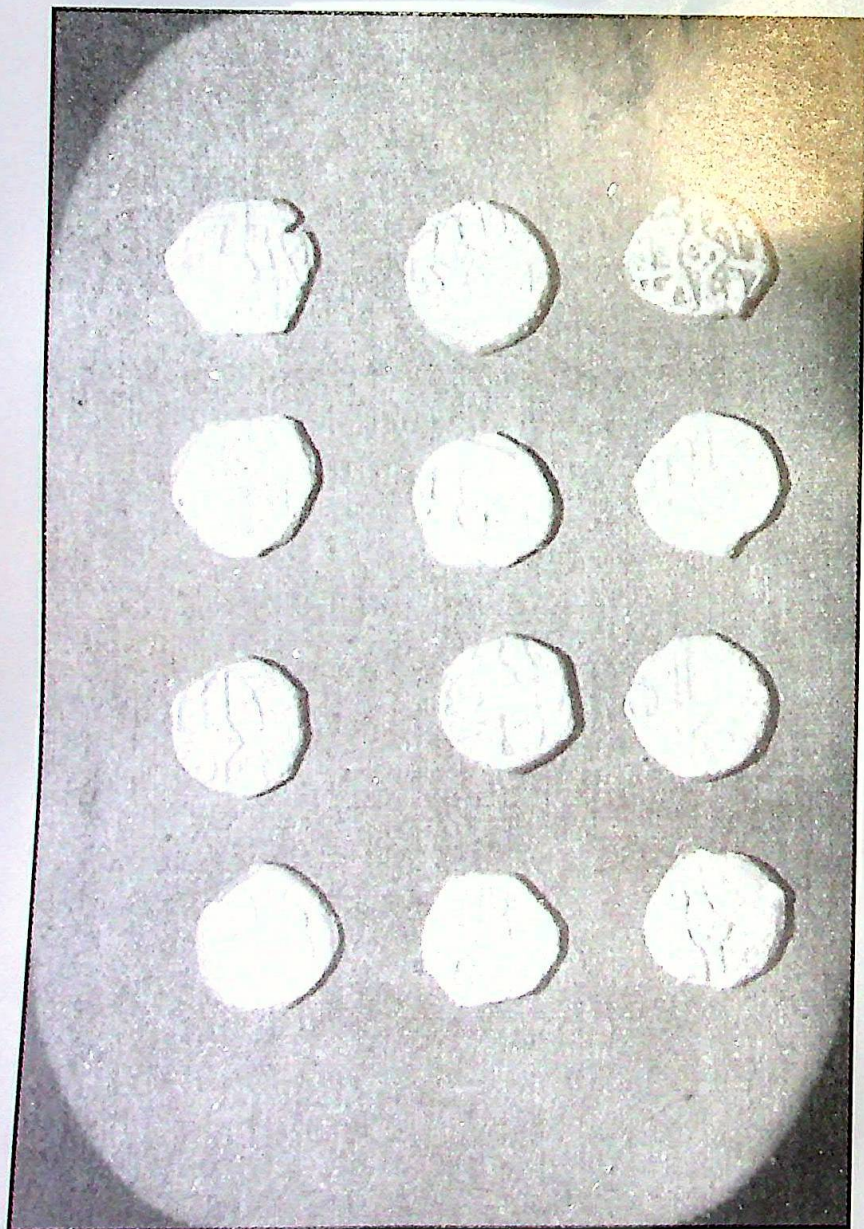
Al Sultan Al Azam Mohammad Shah

Fatah Shah



Al Sultan Al Azam Fatah Shah

Ibrahim Shah



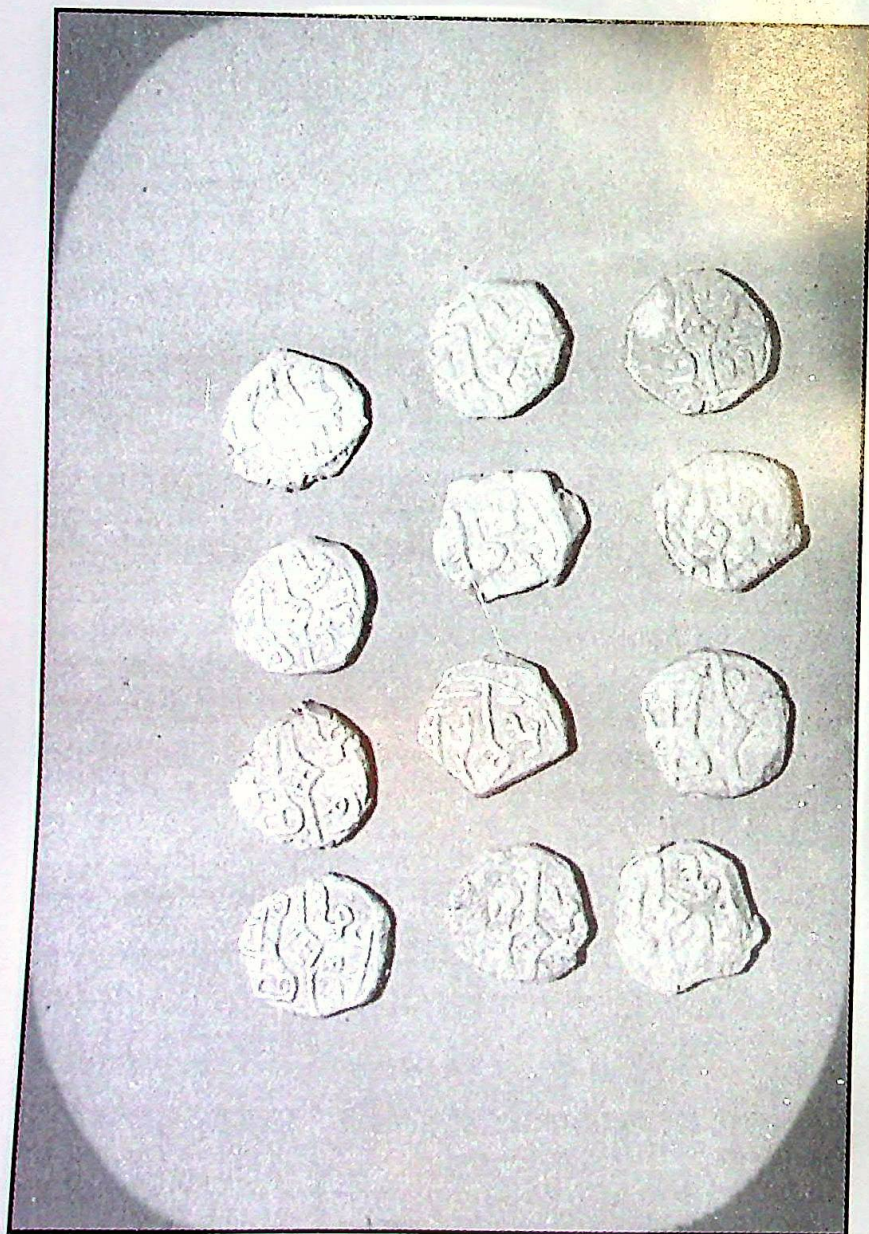
Al Sultan Al Azam Ibrahim Shah

Nazuk Shah



Al Sultan Al Azam Naider Shah

Ismail Shah



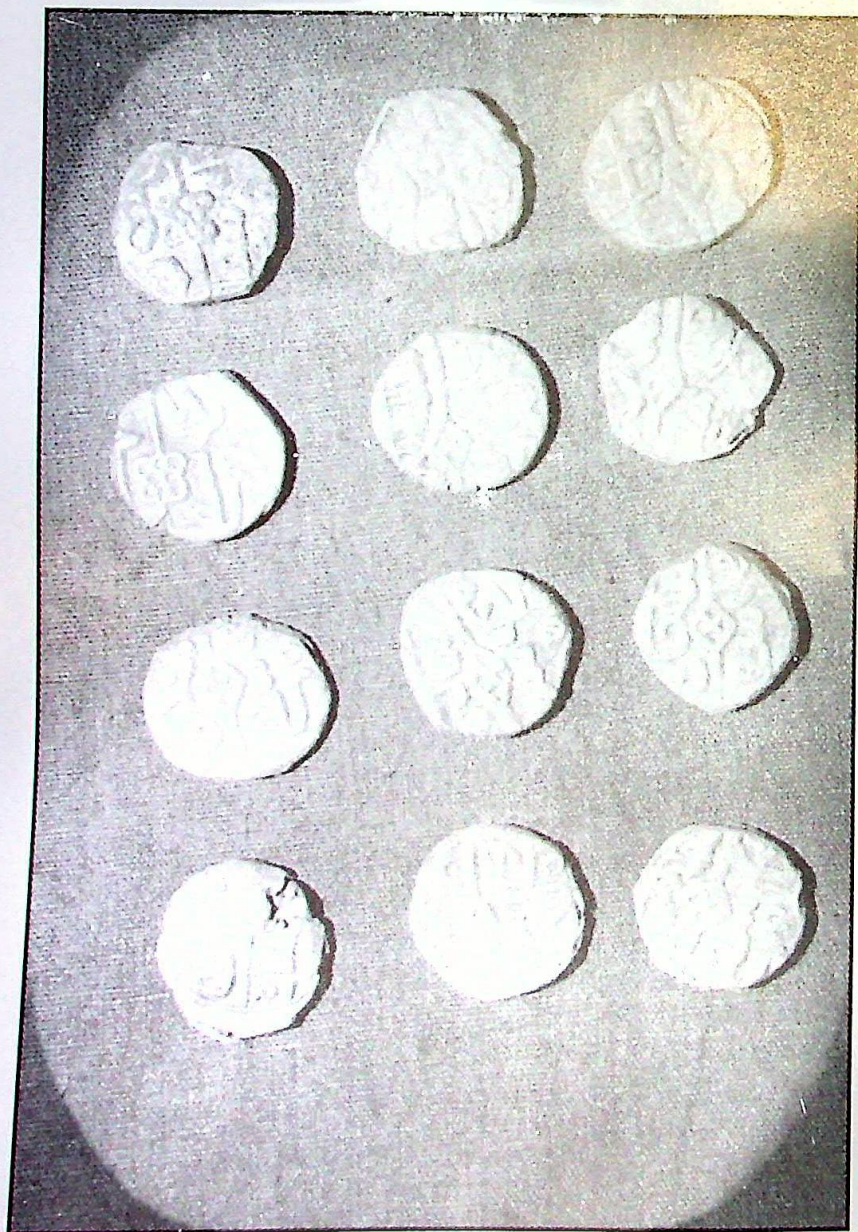
Al Sultan Al Azam Ismail Shah

Hussain Shah



Al Sultan Al Azam Hussain Shah

Yousuf Shah Chak



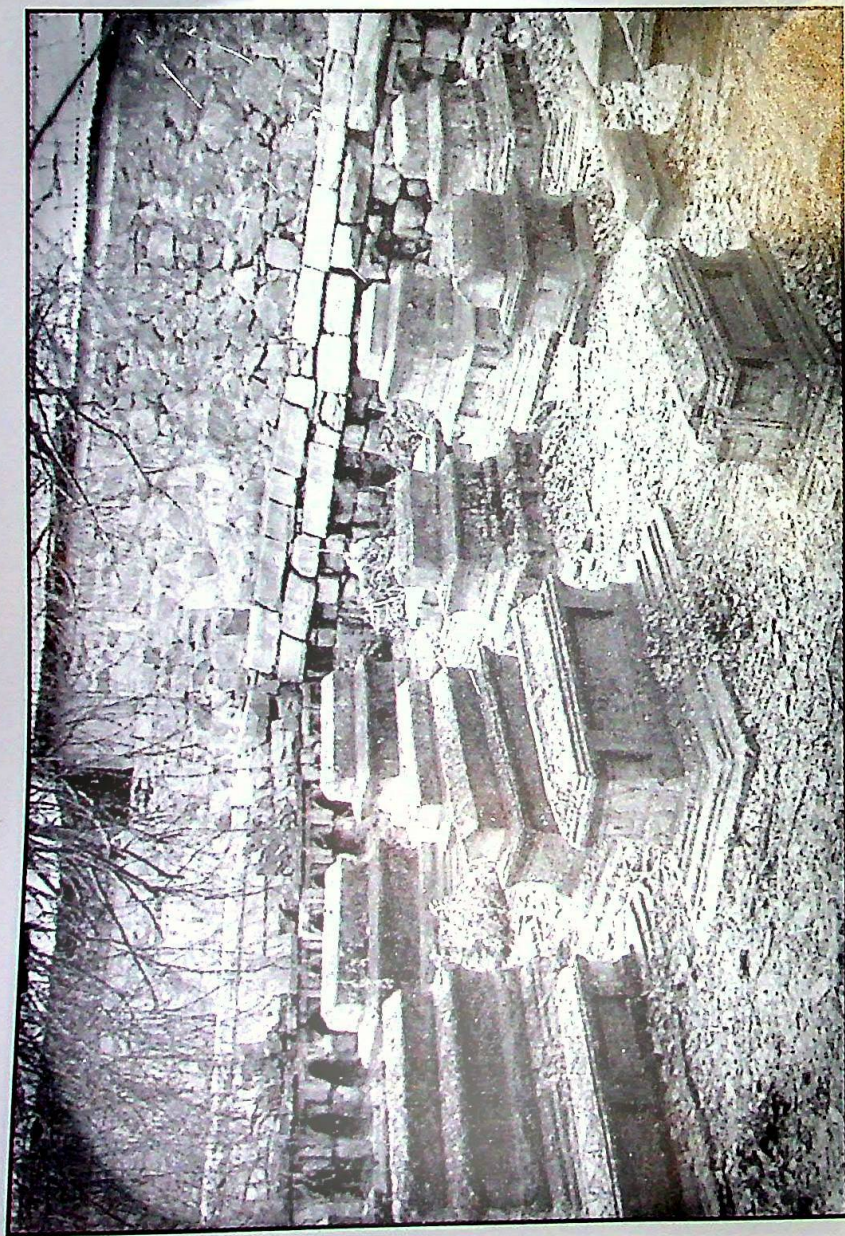
Al Sultan Al Azam Mohammad Yousuf Shah Gazi

Mughal Emperor Akbar Shah



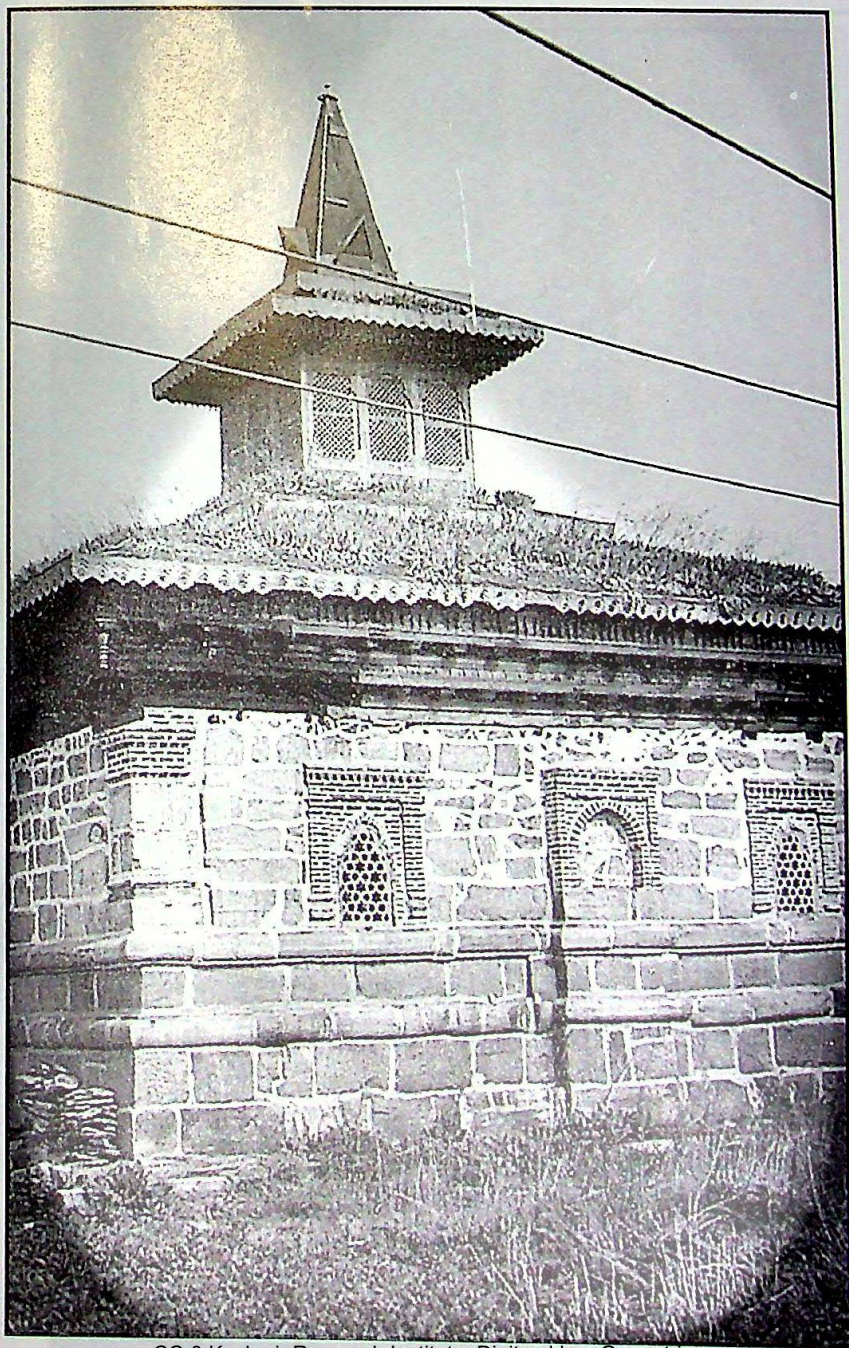
Jalal-ud-Din Mohammad Akbar Shah

Royal Graveyard 15th Century Zaina Kadal, Srinagar

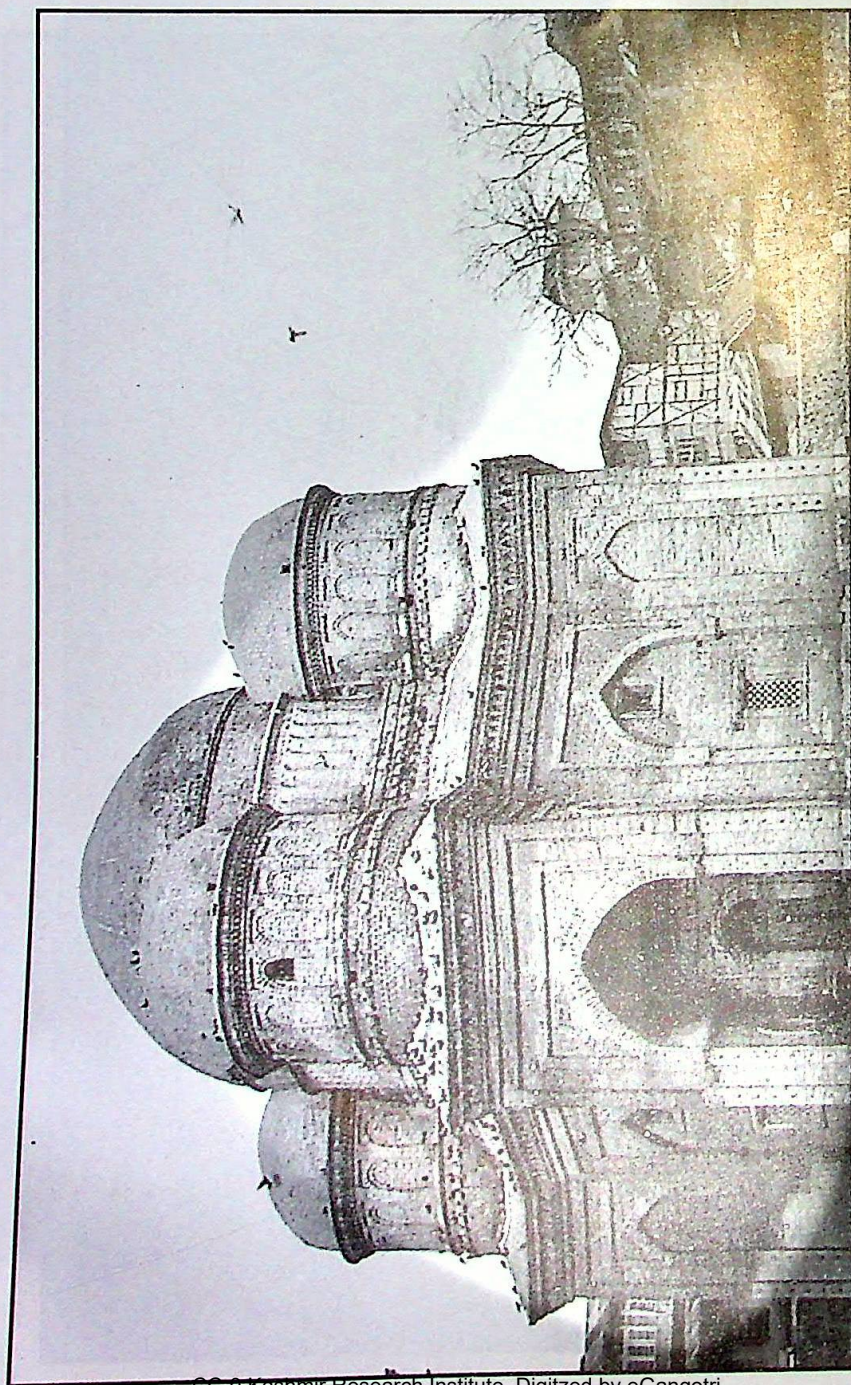


Royal graves (Graves of Kashmeri kings) Zaina kadal Srinagar.

Mosque of Madine Sahib 15th Century Hawal, Srinagar

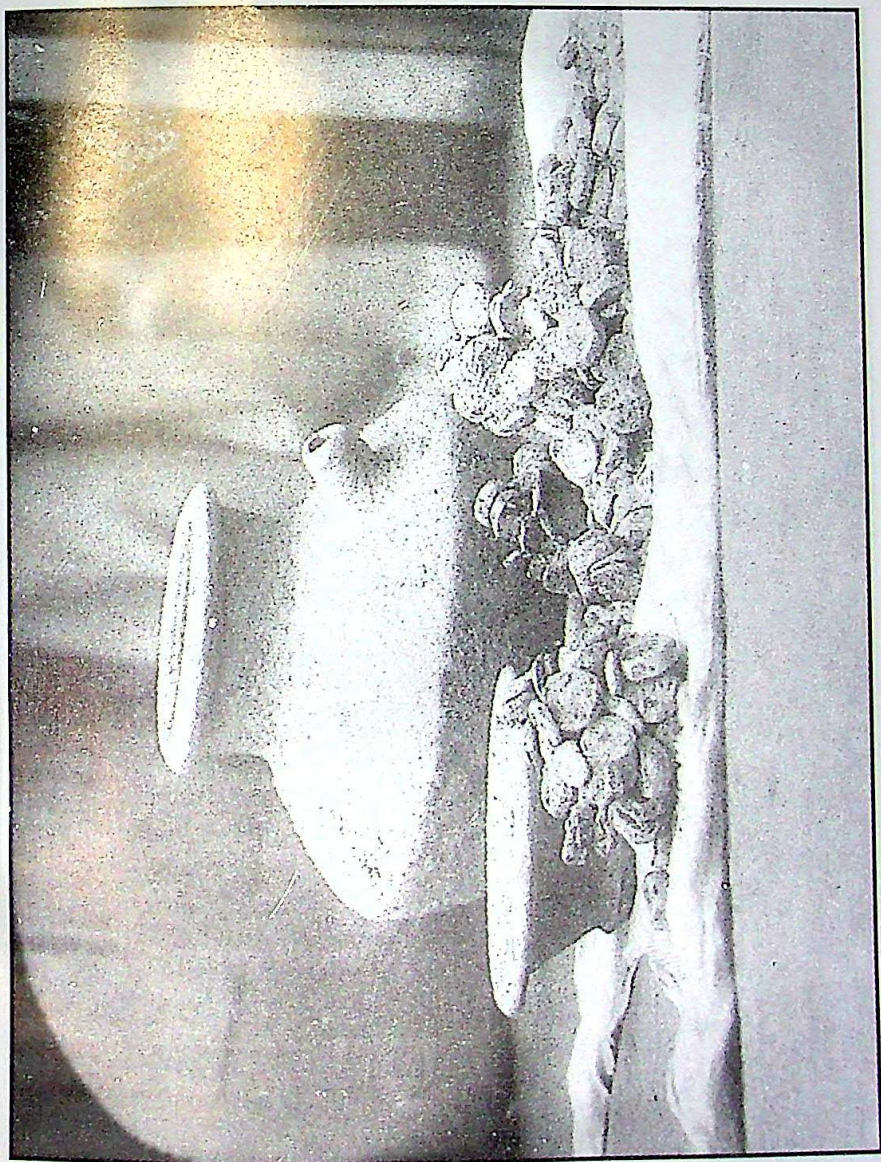


Budshah Dumath 15th Century Zaina Kadal, Srinagar

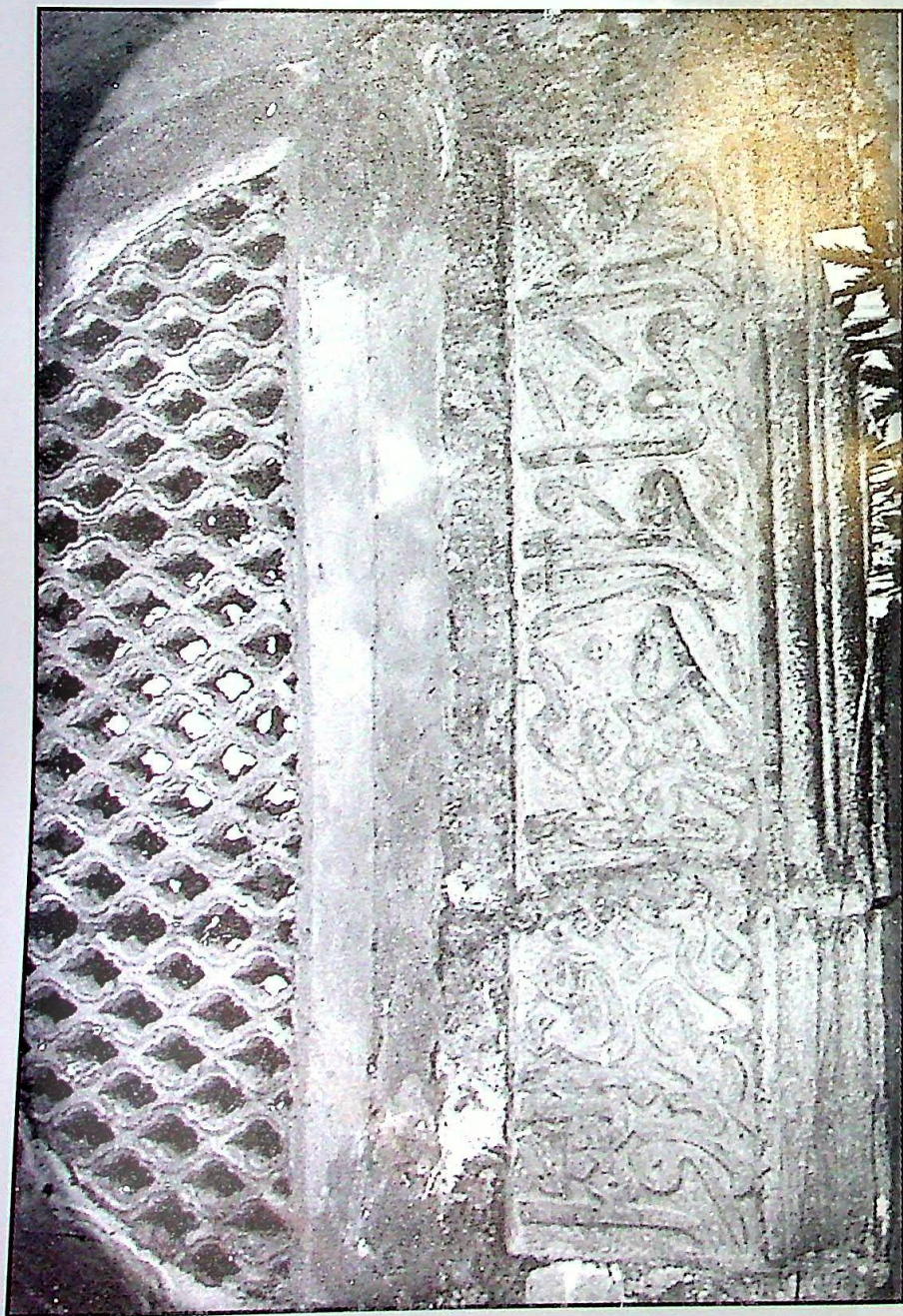


Tomb of sultan Zain-ul-abidin's mother Zaina kadal Srinagar

Hoard Coins

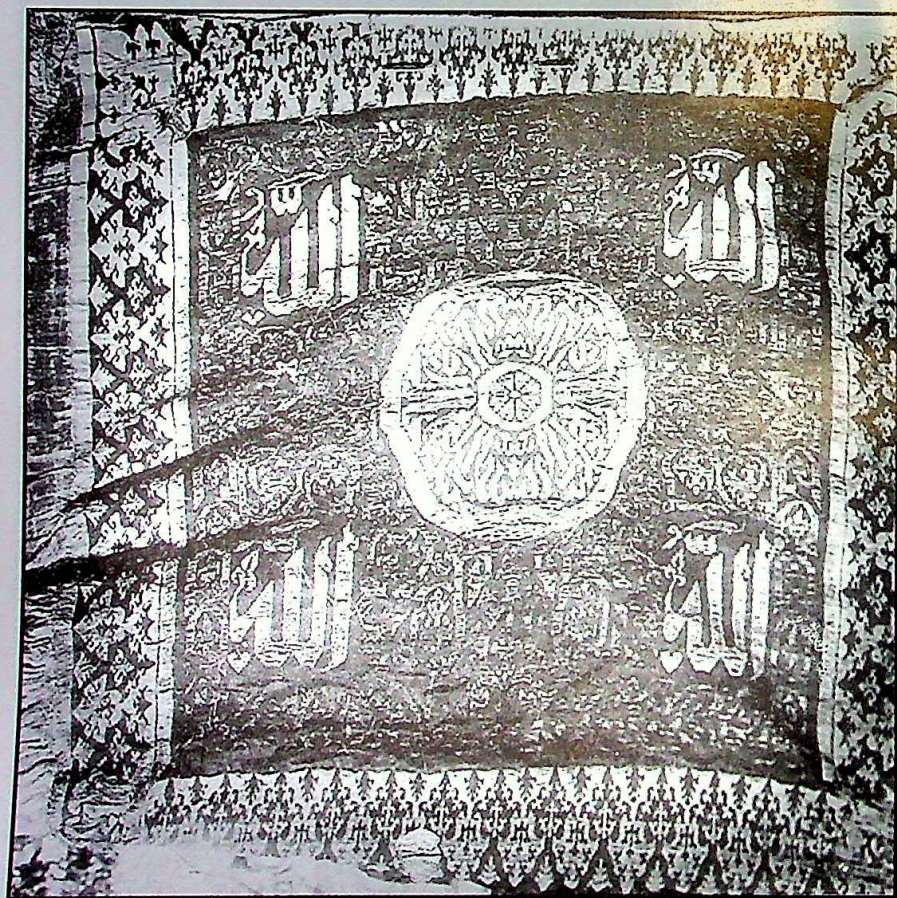


Arabic Inscription 15th Century
Hawal, Srinagar

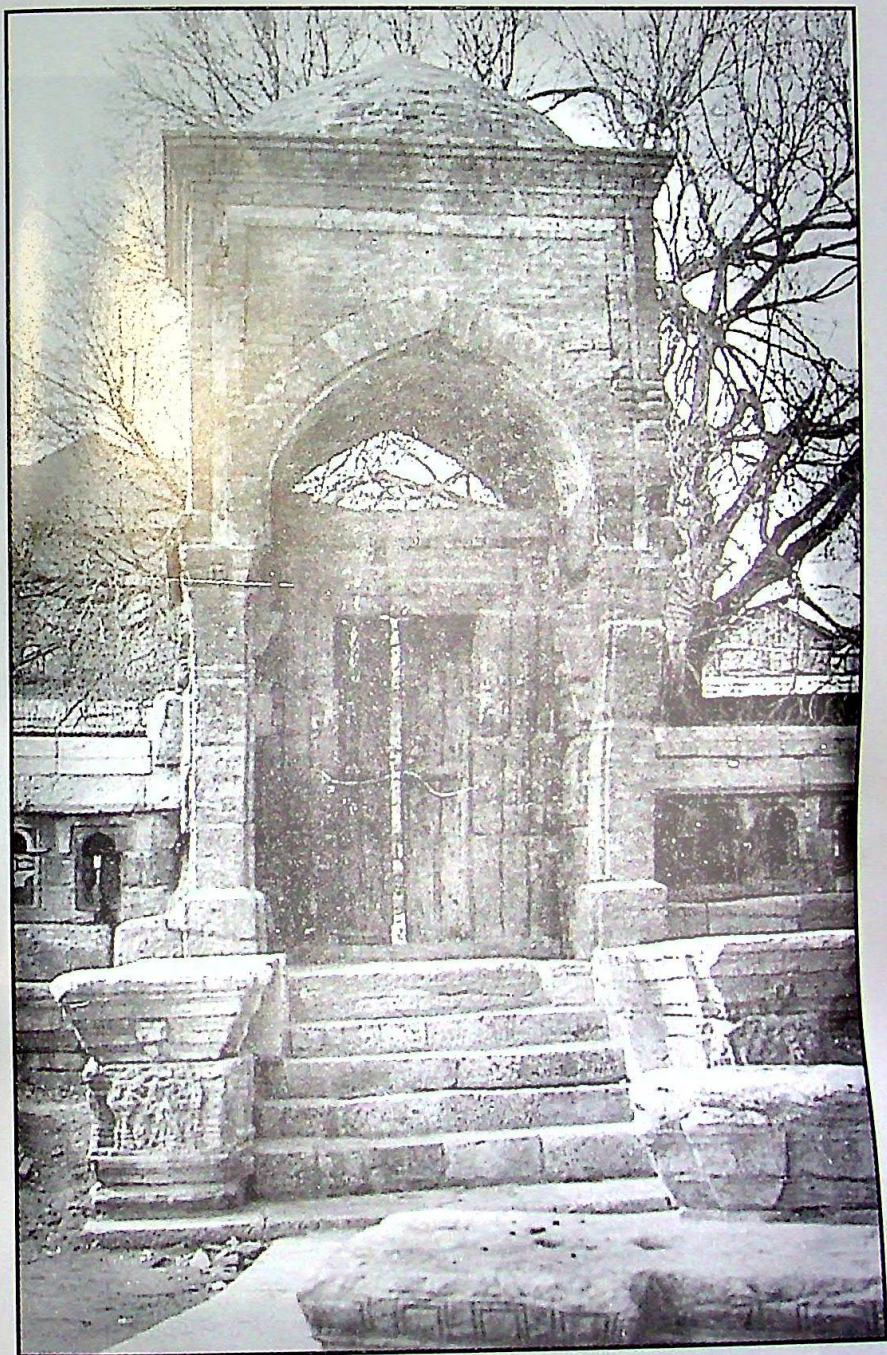




Persian Inscription 17th Century Hawal, Srinagar.



15th Century, canopy sps
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Gateway to Royal Graveyard

Zaina Kadal, Srinagar

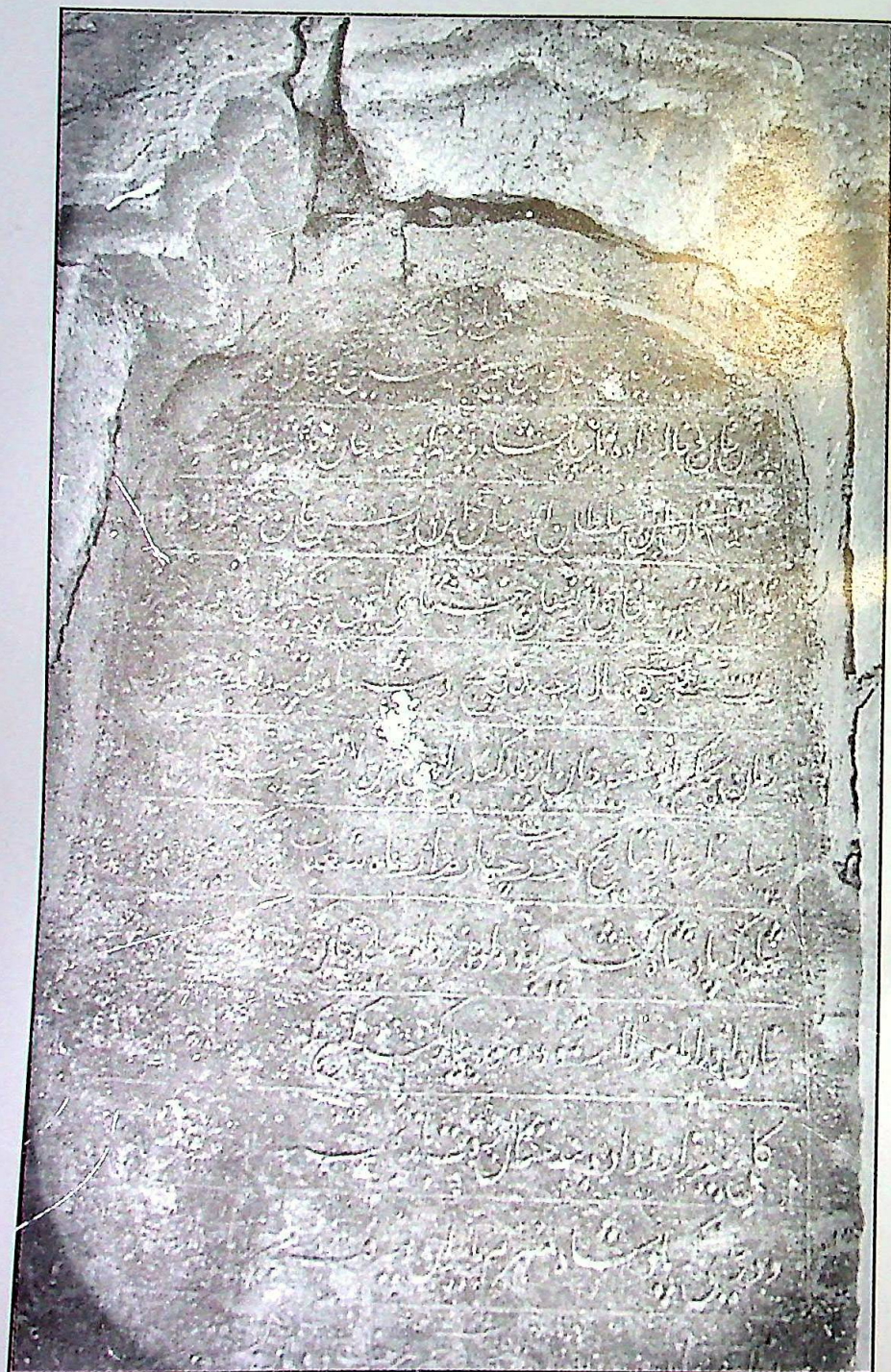
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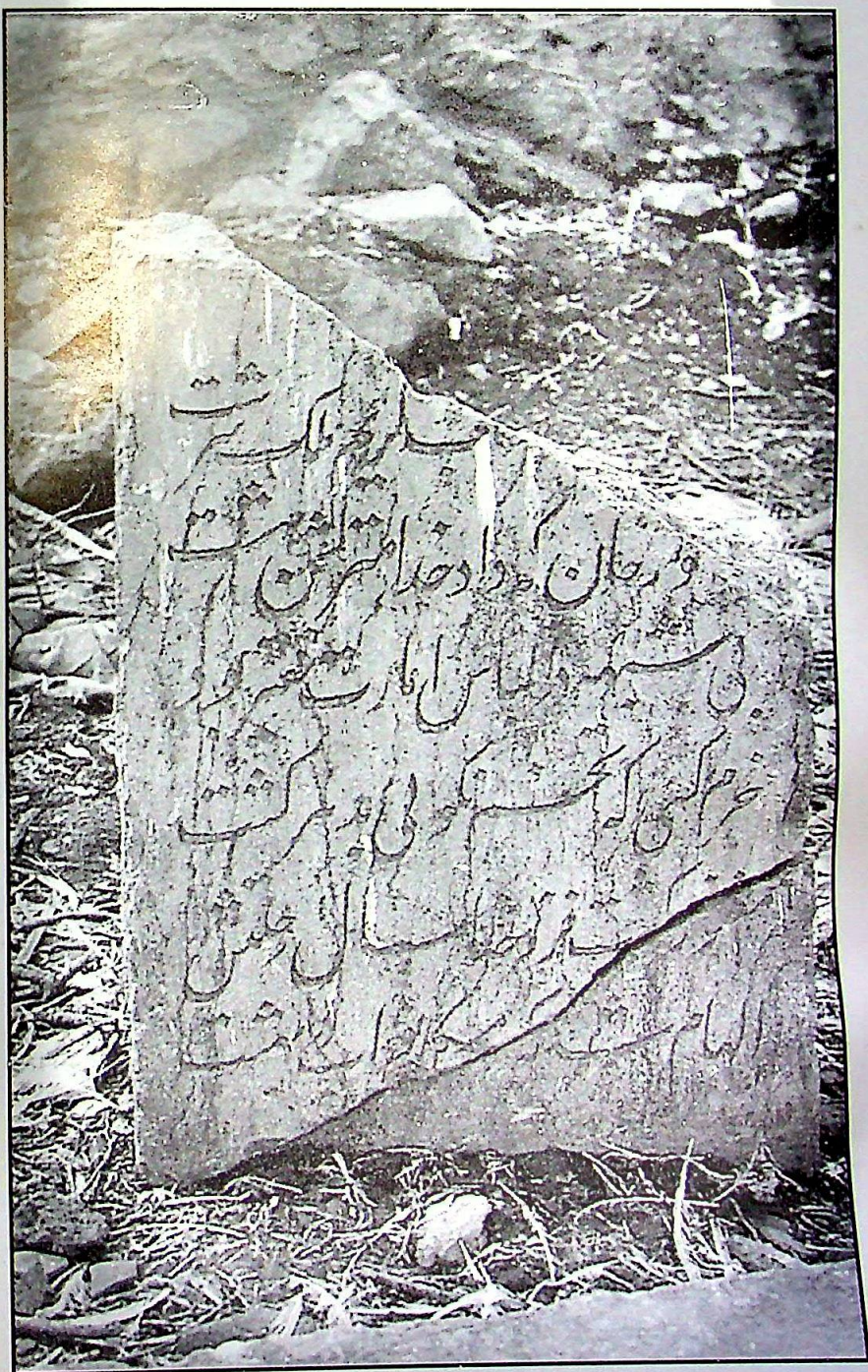
Arched Wall —Royal—Graveyard 15 th Century
Zaina Kadal, Srinagar



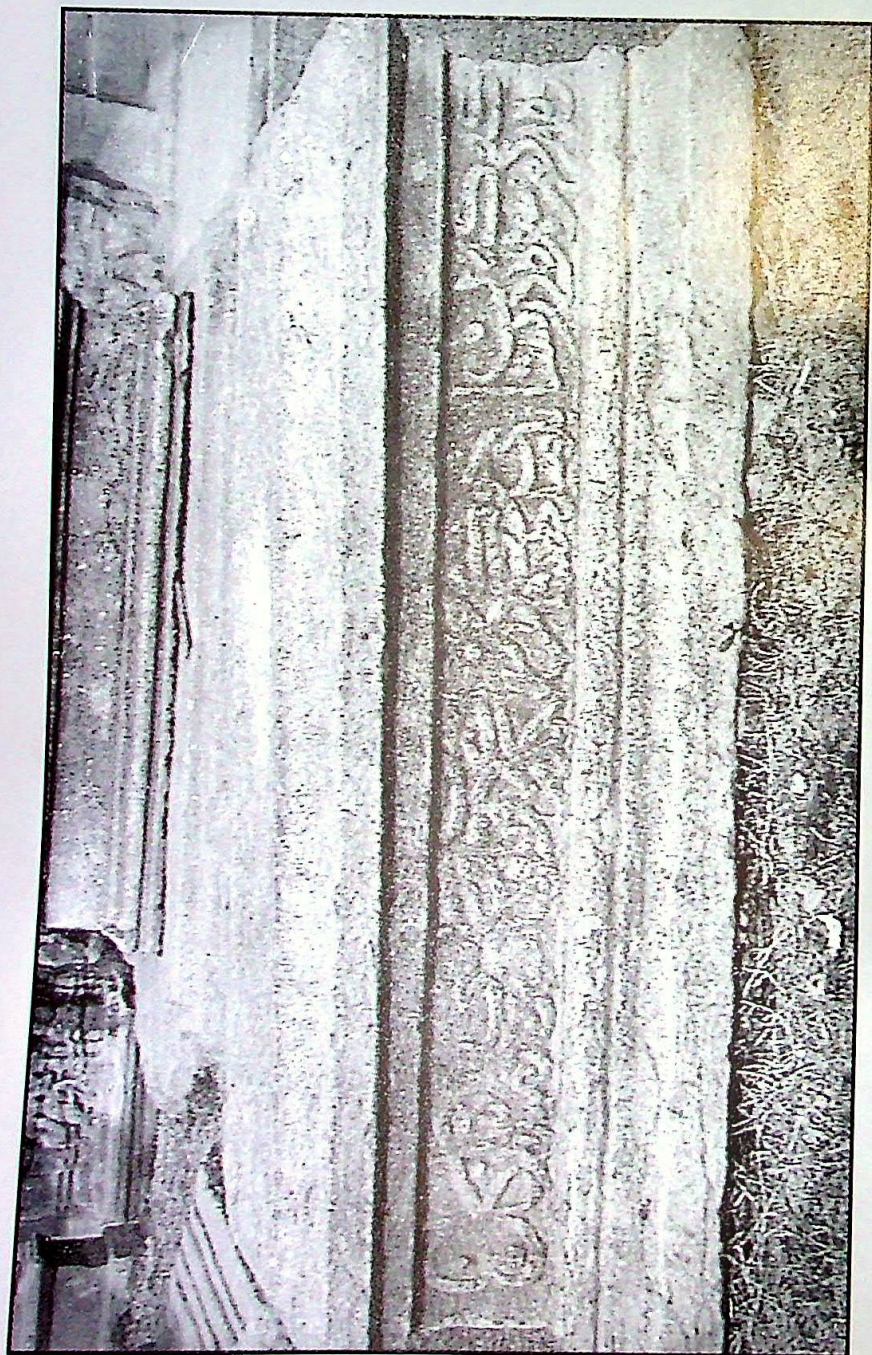
Mirza Haider Daughter's Grave Zaina Kadal, Srinagar



Persian Inscription over the grave of
Mirza Haider 1824 AD



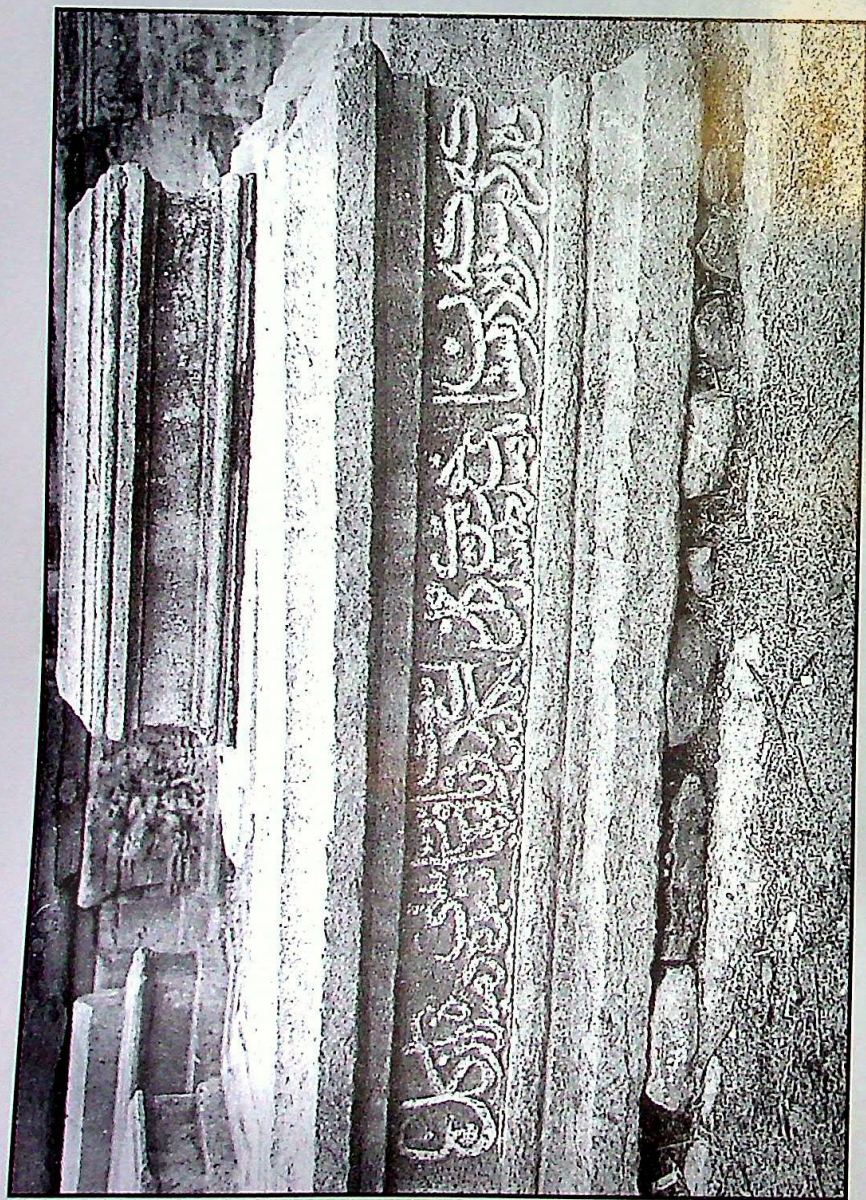
Persian Inscription 17th Century



Persian Inscription 17th Century Zaina Kadal Srinagar.



Grave Stone 16th Century, Zaina Kadal, Srinagar.



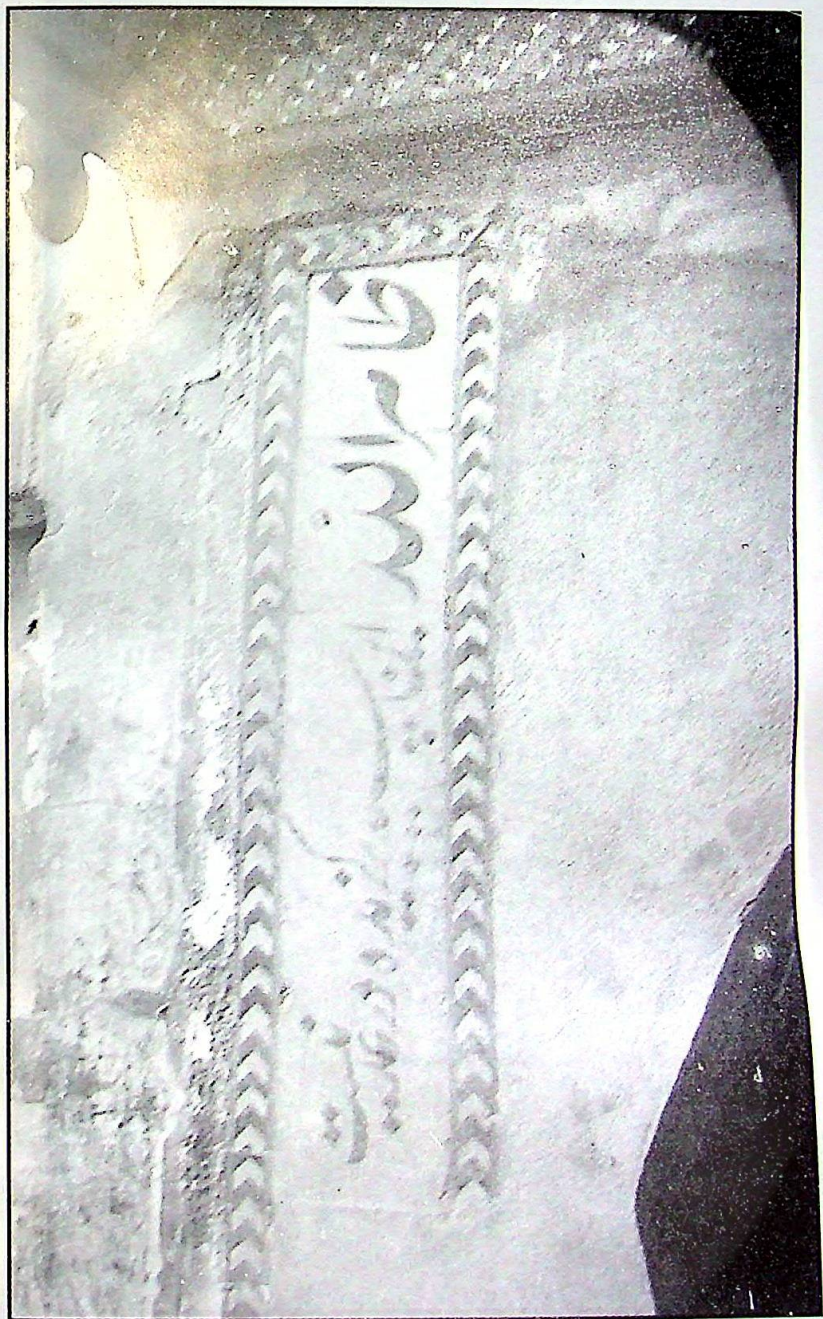
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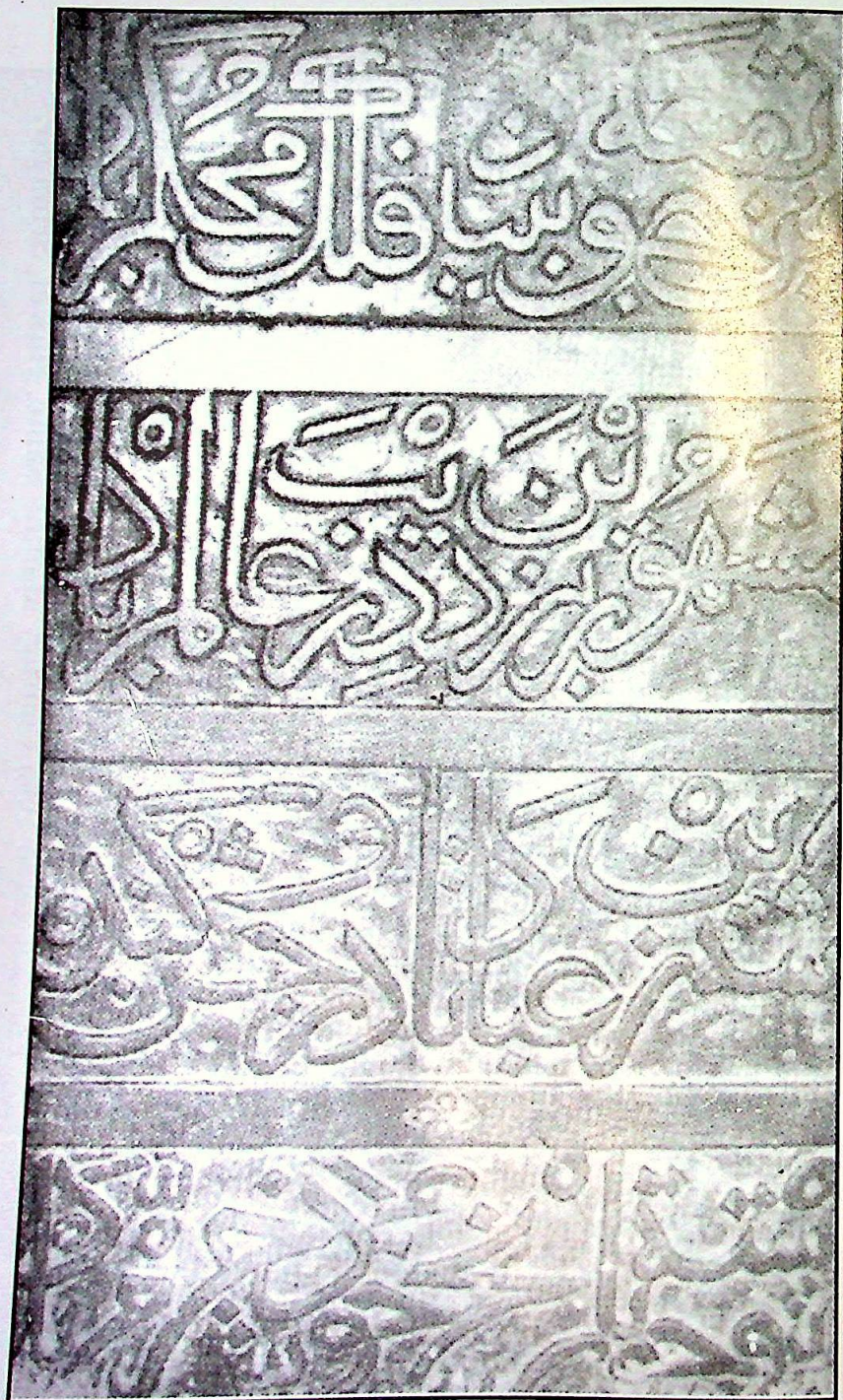
Grave Stone Inscription 15th Century Mulana Kamal, Srinagar



Grave of Sultan Alu-ud-Din, Srinagar.



Glazed tile bearing Persian verse 16th Century Madine Sahib, Hawal, Srinagar.



Persian Inscription 15th Century

SPS Museum, Srinagar

